CATO:

OR, AN

ESSAY

ON

OLD-AGE.

BY

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

WITH

REMARKS.

———Petite hinc, Juveneſque ſeneſque,
Finem Animo certum, miſeriſque viatica canis.

PERSIUS.

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THE following treatiſe has been ſtyled by a celebrated critic, aureum libellum; *as indeed it is one of the moſt valuable pieces of the moral kind, that have been tranſmitted to us from the antients. The ſubject upon which it turns,* "*comes home*" (*as Lord Bacon ſays of his own eſſays*) "*to every man's* "*buſineſs and boſom:*" *and the noble principles it inculcates, are ſupported and inforced with all the advantage that elegance of genius can give to truth of ſentiment. It was thought therefore, that an* attempt *to introduce it to the acquaintance of the Engliſh reader, in a manner not altogether unworthy of the original, would be no uſeleſs employment of the tranſlator's leiſure. To this end, he has endeavoured to purſue the ſame method in conveying the ſenſe of his great*

great author, as Cicero himſelf obſerved when he deigned to be engaged in an office of the ſame nature: Non verbum pro verbo *(ſays he)* neceſſe habui reddere, ſed *genus* omnium verborum *vimque* ſervavi. Non enim ea me *annumerare* lectori putavi oportere, ſed tamquam *appendere.* *

This it ſeemed proper to premiſe with reſpect to the verſion: what farther appeared neceſſary with regard to the original, will be found in the remarks *annexed.*

* Cic de opt. gen. Orat. 5.

CATO:

OR, AN

ESSAY ON OLD-AGE.

To TITUS POMPONIUS ATTICUS.[1]

"*AH could my numbers charm thy anxious breaſt,*
And lull the ſorrows of thy ſoul to reſt;
Would'ſt thou not deem the poet's lenient lay,
More worth than ſums of countleſs gold could pay?"

For well may I addreſs you, my friend, in thoſe lines of the honeſt bard,

"*Far leſs for wealth than probity renowned,*"

with which he opens his poem inſcribed to Flamininus.[2] I am ſenſible at the ſame time that when the poet adds,

"*Each riſing ſun beholds thy ceaſeleſs grief,*
"*And night returning brings thee no relief,*"

he holds a language by no means applicable to you. I perfectly well know indeed, the moderation and equanimity you poſſeſs; and that you have derived from Athens, not only an honourable addition to your name, but that calm and philoſophic ſpirit which ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhes your character.[3] Nevertheleſs, I have reaſon to believe that the preſent unpleaſing poſture of public affairs, ſometimes interrupts *your* tranquillity of mind; as it frequently, I confeſs, diſcompoſes my own.[4] It is not, however, my preſent purpoſe to offer you any conſolation upon that

that ſubject: the caſe requires a very powerful application; and I will reſerve what I have to ſay upon it to ſome future opportunity. My deſign at this time is only to communicate to you a few reflections concerning old-age: the infirmities whereof, we are now beginning to feel, or at leaſt are advancing faſt towards them:[a] and I am deſirous of rendering the burthen as eaſy as poſſible both to you and to myſelf. I am well convinced indeed that as you have hitherto borne its weight, ſo you will continue to ſupport its increaſing preſſure, with the ſame good ſenſe and compoſure of mind which you have ſo happily diſcovered upon every other important occaſion. Nevertheleſs, having reſolved to publiſh ſome reflections upon the ſubject; I determined to addreſs them to you, who have a peculiar

[a] The friendſhip between Cicero and Atticus having commenced at ſchool, they were nearly of the ſame age, both of them at this time about the grand climateric. *Vid. Corn. Nep. in vit. At.*

claim to this pledge of my affection: and it is a preſent to which we may both of us have recourſe with equal advantage. For myſelf at leaſt, the conſiderations I now lay before you have had ſo happy an effect on my own mind, as not only to reconcile me to all the inconveniencies of old-age, but to render it even an agreeable ſtate to me.

Can we ſufficiently then expreſs our ſenſe of the obligations we owe to Philoſophy, who thus inſtructs her diſciples how to paſs through every ſucceſſive period of human life, with equal ſatisfaction and complacency? The advantages to be derived from her precepts in other important ſituations, is a topic I have frequently had occaſion to expatiate upon; and ſhall often perhaps again reſume: but in the papers I now ſend you, my purpoſe is to conſider thoſe advantages with reſpect *only* to our declining years. To have put theſe reflections into the mouth of an imaginary character, like the Tithonus of Ariſto,[5] would have made but little impreſſion

preſſion upon the reader; in order therefore to give them the greater force, I have repreſented them as delivered by the venerable Cato.[6] To this end I have introduced Scipio and Lælius[7] as expreſſing to him their admiration of the wonderful eaſe with which he ſupported his old-age: and this gives him occaſion to enter into a full explanation of his ideas upon the ſubject. If you ſhould think that he diſcovers in this converſation, a richer vein of literature than appears in his own compoſitions; you muſt impute it to the acquaintance he afterwards made with the Greek authors, whoſe language and philoſophy, it is well known, he paſſionately ſtudied in the latter end of his long life. I have only to add, that in delivering the ſentiments of Cato, I deſire to be underſtood as fully declaring my own.

SCIPIO.

I HAVE frequently, Cato, joined with our friend Lælius, in admiring that conſummate wiſdom and virtue, which upon all occaſions ſo eminently diſtinguiſhes your character, but particularly in that ſingular eaſe and chearfulneſs with which you ſeem to bear up under thoſe years, which are preſſing upon you. I could never obſerve that they are attended with the leaſt inconveniency to you: whereas the generality of men at your time of life, uſually complain of old-age as the heavieſt and moſt inſupportable of burdens.

CATO.

There is nothing, my friends, in the circumſtance you have remarked that can juſtly, I think, deſerve your admiration. Thoſe indeed who have no *internal* reſource of happineſs, will find themſelves uneaſy in every ſtage of human life: but to Him who is accuſtomed to derive all his felicity from within himſelf; no ſtate will appear as a real evil, into which we are conducted by the common and regular courſe of nature. Now this is peculiarly the caſe with reſpect to old-age: Yet ſuch is the inconſiſtency of human folly, that the very period which at a diſtance is every man's warmeſt wiſh to attain; no ſooner arrives than it is equally the object of his lamentations. It is uſual with men at this ſeaſon of life to complain, that old-age has ſtolen upon them by ſurprize and much ſooner than they expected. But if they were deceived by their own falſe calculations;

calculations; muſt not the blame reſt wholly on themſelves? For, in the firſt place; old-age, ſurely, does not gain by ſwifter and more imperceptible ſteps on manhood, than manhood advances on youth: and in the next; in what reſpect would age have ſat leſs heavily upon them, had its progreſs been much ſlower; and, inſtead of making its viſit at fourſcore years, it had not reached them 'till four hundred? For the years that are elapſed, how numerous ſoever they may have been, can by no means conſole a weak and frivolous mind under the uſual conſequences of long life. If I have any claim therefore, to that wiſdom which you tell me, my friends, you have often admired in my character, (and which I can only wiſh indeed were worthy of the opinion you entertain of it, and the appellation [b] the

[b] *Cato*'s proper name was Marcus Priſcus; *Cato* being a characteriſtic addition affixed to it by common conſent, from the old latin term *Catus*, which ſignifies *wiſe*. *Plut. in vit. Caton. Mi.*

world has conferred upon me) it conſiſts wholly in this, that I follow nature as the ſureſt guide, and reſign myſelf, with an implicit obedience, to all her ſacred ordinances.[8] Now it cannot be ſuppoſed that, nature after having wiſely diſtributed to all the preceding periods of life their peculiar and proper enjoyments, ſhould have neglected, like an indolent poet, the laſt act of the human drama, and left it deſtitute of ſuitable advantages. Nevertheleſs, it was impoſſible but that in the life of man, as in the fruits of the earth, there ſhould be a certain point of maturity, beyond which the marks of decay muſt neceſſarily appear: and to this unavoidable condition of his preſent being, every wiſe and good man will ſubmit with a contented and chearful acquieſcence. For to entertain deſires repugnant to the univerſal law of our exiſtence; what is it, my friends, but to wage war, like the impious giants, with the Gods themſelves?

LÆLIUS.

LÆLIUS.

You will confer then a very acceptable ſervice on both of us, Cato, (for I will venture to anſwer for my friend Scipio, as well as for myſelf) if you will mark out to us, by what means we may moſt effectually be enabled to ſupport the load of incumbent years. For although we are at preſent far diſtant from old-age; we have reaſon however to expect, at leaſt to hope, that it is a period we ſhall live to attain.

CATO.

Moſt willingly, Lælius, I yield to your requeſt; eſpecially as you aſſure me, that my compliance will be equally agreeable to both of you.

SCIPIO.

SCIPIO.

Yes, my venerable friend; like travellers who mean to take the ſame long journey you have gone before us, we ſhould be glad (if it be not impoſing too much trouble upon you) that you would give us ſome account of the advanced ſtage at which you are now arrived.

CATO.

I am ready, Scipio, to the beſt of my power, to give you the information you deſire.—And indeed, I am the more qualified for the taſk you aſſign me, as I have always (agreeably to the old proverb) aſſociated much with men of my own years. This has given me frequent opportunities of being acquainted with their grievances: and I particularly remember to have often heard Caius Salinator, and Spurius Albinus,[9] men of conſular rank and nearly of the ſame

ſame age as myſelf) bewail their condition. The principal ſubject of their complaint was, in the firſt place, that they were no longer capable of enjoying the ſenſual gratifications; without which, in their eſtimation, life was of no value: and in the next, that they found themſelves neglected by thoſe who had formerly paid their court to them with the greateſt attention. But they imputed their grievances, I think, to a wrong cauſe. For had they ariſen merely from the circumſtance of their age; they would have been common to myſelf and to every other man of the ſame advanced years. But the fact is much otherwiſe; and I have known many at that period of life, who paſſed their time without the leaſt repining: who neither regretted that they were releaſed from the dominion of their paſſions, nor had reaſon to think themſelves treated with diſreſpect by any of their connections. In fact, the true grievance in all complaints of this kind, lies in the man and not in the age.

They

They whoſe deſires are properly regulated, and who have nothing moroſe or petulant in their temper and manners, will find old-age, to ſay the leaſt of it, is a ſtate very eaſily to be indured: whereas unſubdued paſſions, and a froward diſpoſition, will equally imbitter every ſeaſon of human life.

LÆLIUS.

Your obſervations, Cato, are undoubtedly juſt. Yet ſome, perhaps, may be apt to ſay, that your ample poſſeſſions, together with the power and influence of your rank and character, have very much contributed to ſoften the inconveniencies of old-age, and render it more than uſually eaſy to you: but that theſe are advantages which cannot poſſibly fall to the lot of many.

CATO.

CATO.

I muſt acknowledge, that the circumſtances you mention have ſome beneficial influence, but I can by no means admit, that the whole depends upon them. When a certain native of the paltry iſland of Seriphos,[10] told Themiſtocles, in an altercation which aroſe between them, that he was indebted for the luſtre of his fame, not to the intrinſic ſplendor of his actions, but to the country in which he had the good fortune to be born; 'it may be ſo,' replied the Athenian general, 'for if I 'had received my birth at Seriphos, I 'could have had no opportunity of pro-'ducing my talents: but give me leave 'to tell you, that yours would never 'have made a figure though you had 'been born in Athens.' The ſame ſentiment is juſtly applicable to the caſe in queſtion: for although, it muſt be confeſſed that old-age under the preſſure of extreme indigence, cannot poſſibly prove

prove an eaſy ſtate, not even to a wiſe and virtuous mind; yet without thoſe eſſential qualities it muſt neceſſarily prove the reverſe, although it ſhould be accompanied with every external advantage. Believe me, my young friends, the beſt and ſureſt guard againſt the inconveniencies of old-age, is to cultivate in each preceding period the principles of moral ſcience, and uniformly to exerciſe thoſe virtues it preſcribes. The good ſeeds which you ſhall thus have ſown in the former ſeaſons of life, will, in the winter of your days, be wonderfully productive of the nobleſt and moſt valuable fruit: valuable, not only as a poſſeſſion which will remain with you even to your lateſt moments, (though indeed that circumſtance alone is a very conſiderable recommendation) but alſo as a conſcious retroſpect on a long life, marked with an uninterrupted ſeries of laudable and beneficent actions, afford a perpetual ſource of the ſweeteſt and moſt exquiſite ſatisfaction.

When

When I was very young I conceived as ſtrong an affection for Quintus Maximus, (the celebrated General who recovered Tarentum) as if we had been of equal years.[11] There was a dignity in the deportment of this excellent old man which was tempered with ſingular politeneſs and affability of manners: and time had wrought no ſort of alteration in his amiable qualities. He was not, it is true, at a time of life which could properly be called infirm age, when I firſt began to cultivate his friendſhip; but he was certainly, however, advanced in years: for I was not born till the year before his firſt conſulate.[12] In his fourth, I ſerved a very young man in the army he commanded at Capua: and five years afterwards I was his Quæſtor at Tarentum. From that poſt I ſucceeded to the Edileſhip; and four years after, in the conſulate of Tuditanus and Cethegus, I was choſen Prætor. It was at this period that by the advice and eloquence of my venerable friend, who was now become extreme-

ly

ly old, the Cincian law concerning donatives was enacted.[13] This great man led our troops to battle in his old age, with as much ſpirit as if he had been in the prime and vigour of life: and when Hanibal, with all the gaiety of a youthful conqueror, waa exulting in the ſucceſs of his arms; He gave a check to his victories, by a cool and patient perſeverance in avoiding a general engagement.[14] It is to this part of his judicious conduct, that thoſe famous lines of my friend Ennius allude:

" *'Twas His to ſave the ſtate by wiſe delay,*
" *Regardleſs what the cenſuring world might ſay.*
" *Time proves the merit of the glorious deed,*
" *His fame ſtill riſing as the years ſucceed.*"

How wonderful was the judgment he diſplayed, and the vigilance he exerted, in retaking from the enemy the city of Tarentum. I remember when Salinator[15] (who after having been driven by the beſiegers from the city, retired to the citadel) was boaſting to Maximus

mus in my preſence, that it was by his means he regained poſſeſſion of the town: "very true," replied Maximus, with a ſmile; "for if *you* had not loſt it, I certainly could never have recovered it." Nor were his ſpirit and abilities more conſpicious as ſoldier than a ſtateſman. In his ſecond conſulſhip, when C. Flaminius,[16] in direct oppoſition to the authority of the Senate, was dividing among the ſoldiers the conquered lands in the provinces of Gaul and Picentia, he had the courage ſingly and unſupported by his collegue Carvilius, to withſtand, as far as it was poſſible, the popular meaſures of that factious tribune. And even when he was Augur he had the honeſt boldneſs upon a particular occaſion, openly to declare that "every omen ought to be conſidered as favourable, or inauſpicious, as the intereſt of the ſtate determined."[17]

But there is no trait among the many ſhining qualities which adorned this great man's character, that I obſerved with

with warmer admiration, than the fortitude with which he ſupported the death of his illuſtrious ſon.[18] The funeral oration he pronouced upon that affecting occaſion, is in every body's hands: and which of the philoſophers, I will venture to aſk, does not ſink in our eſteem after the peruſing of this admirable performance?[19] The truth is, it was not ſolely in the conſpicuous paths of the world, and when he was acting in the public view, that this excellent man was truly great; he appeared ſtill greater in the private and domeſtic ſcenes of life.[20] How pleaſing and inſtructive was his converſation! how profound his knowledge of antiquity! how deep his ſkill in the ſcience of augury! To which I may add, that he was better acquainted with Grecian literature than is uſual for a Roman. His memory too was ſo remarkably faithful, that there was not a ſingle event of any note that had happened in the wars either with our neighbours in Italy, or with the more diſtant nations,

with

with which he was not perfectly well acquainted. In ſhort, from my firſt connection with him, I as eagerly embraced every opportunity of enjoying his ſociety, as if I had then preſaged, what the event has verified, that after his death I ſhould never again meet with ſo wiſe and informing a companion.[21]

I have entered thus minutely into the character and conduct of Maximus, in order to convince you, that it would be an affront to virtue to ſuppoſe, that old-age to a man endowed with ſuch principles and diſpoſitions, could poſſibly have been a ſtate of infelicity. It muſt be acknowledged at the ſame time, that it is not in every one's power to be a Maximus, or a Scipio; to enliven the gloom of declining years by the animating recollection of the towns he has taken, the battles he has won, and the triumphs that have honoured his ſucceſsful arms. But it is not the great and ſplendid actions of the hero, or the ſtateſman alone, that lead to an eaſy and agreeable

agreeable old age: that ſeaſon of life may prove equally placid and ſerene, to him who hath paſſed all his days in the ſilent and retired paths of elegant and learned leiſure. Of this kind, we are told, was the old age of Plato, who continued to employ himſelf with great ſatisfaction in his philoſophical ſtudies, 'till death put an end to them in his eighty-firſt year. Such too was that of Iſocrates, who is ſaid to have compoſed his famous diſcourſe intituled Panathenaicus,[a] in the ninety-fourth year of

[a] This performance ſeems to have been intituled *Panathenaicus*, from the ſubject rather than from its being deſigned to be ſpoken at that anniverſary feſtival inſtituted in honour of Minerva, called *Panathenaica*; as it principally turns on celebrating the merit of thoſe patriotic Athenians who were diſtinguiſhed in the annals of that ſtate, by having deſerved well of their country. It appears to have been compoſed at a later period of life even than Cicero names; for the author himſelf declares in this piece, that he was ninety-ſeven at the time he wrote it, and labouring alſo under a very weak ſtate of

of his age: and his death did not happen 'till five years afterwards. His preceptor Leontinus Gorgias lived to complete his one hundred and ſeventh year; continuing his ſtudies with undiminiſhed ſpirit and application to his laſt moments. This celebrated veteran being aſked, why he did not put an end to ſuch a tedious length of life? "Becauſe," ſaid he, "I find no reaſon to complain of old-age:" an anſwer truly noble and altogether worthy of a philoſopher! The truth is, they whoſe conduct has not been governed by the principles of wiſdom and virtue, are apt to impute to old-age thoſe infirmities for which their former irregularities are alone accountable. Far different were the

of health. But neither age, nor infirmities had ſubdued the ſpirit and genius of this extraordinary veteran: Cicero in his treatiſe inſcribed the *Orator*, ſpeaks of this piece as a compoſition remarkable for the artificial arrangement and harmony of its periods; and Valerius Maximus ſtiles it a work *Ardentis Spiritus plenum.*

the ſentiments of Ennius, whom I juſt now had occaſion to quote: He compares his declining years to thoſe of a generous ſteed

"*Who victor oft in fam'd Olympia's fields,*
"*To ſweet repoſe his age-worn members yields.*"

You are not too young, my friends, to remember the perſon of this veteran poet; for his death happened ſo late as the conſulate of Cæpio and Philippus, which is not more than nineteen years ago. And let me obſerve by the way, although I was at that time full ſixty-five years of age, I ſpoke in defence of the voconian law with great exertion of voice and vehemence of action.[22] But I was going to remark, that this venerable bard, who lived to ſeventy, bore up under age and indigence with ſuch wonderful chearfulneſs and good humour, that one would almoſt have imagined he derived even a ſatisfaction from thoſe circumſtances which the generality of mankind look upon as,

of

of all others, the moſt diſpiriting and oppreſſive.

When I conſider the ſeveral cauſes which are uſually ſuppoſed to conſtitute the infelicity of old-age; they may be reduced, I think, under four general articles. In the firſt place it is alledged, that it incapacitates a man for acting in the affairs of the world; in the next, that it produces great infirmities of body; thirdly, that it diſqualifies him for the enjoyment of the ſenſual gratifications; and laſtly, that it brings him within the immediate verge of death. Let us therefore, if you pleaſe, examine the force and validity of each of theſe particular charges.

"Old-age," it ſeems, "diſqualifies us from taking an active part in the great ſcenes of buſineſs." But in what ſcenes? let me aſk: if in thoſe which require the ſtrength and vivacity of youth; I readily admit the charge. But are there no other; none which are peculiarly appropriated to the evening of life, and which, being executed by

the powers of the mind, are perfectly conſiſtent with a leſs vigourous ſtate of body? Did Quintus Maximus, then paſs the latter end of his long life in total inactivity? Tell me, Scipio, was *your* father, and my ſon's father-in-law,[23] the excellent Lucius Paulus; were the Fabricii, the Curii, and the Coruncanii,[24] utterly bereaved of all uſeful energy, when they ſupported the intereſts of the republic by the wiſdom of their counſels and the influence of their reſpectable authority? Appius Claudius was not only old, but blind, when he remonſtrated in the ſenate with ſo much force and ſpirit, againſt concluding a peace with Pyrrhus; to which the majority of the members appeared ſtrongly inclined. And upon this occaſion it was that he broke forth into thoſe animated expoſtulations, which Ennius has introduced into his poem,

"*Shall folly now that honour'd council ſway,*
"*Where ſacred wiſdom wont to point the way?*"

together

together with the reſt of thoſe ſpirited lines, with which you are no doubt well acquainted.[25] This celebrated harangue, which is ſtill extant, Appius delivered ſeventeen years after his ſecond conſulate; between which and his firſt, there was an interval of ten years: and prior to both, he had exerciſed the office of Cenſor. It is evident therefore that he muſt have been a very old man, at the time of the Pyrrhic war: and indeed the tradition received from our fore-fathers has always repreſented him as ſuch.

It appears therefore, that nothing can be more void of foundation than to aſſert, that old-age neceſſarily diſqualifies a man from engaging in the great affairs of the world. As well might it be affirmed, that the pilot is totally uſeleſs and unengaged in the buſineſs of the ſhip, becauſe while the reſt of the crew are more actively employed in their reſpective departments, he ſits quietly at the helm and directs its motions. If in the great ſcenes of buſi-

neſs, an old man cannot perform a part which requires the force and energy of vigourous years; he can act however in a nobler and more important character. It is not by exertions of corporal ſtrength and activity, that the momentous affairs of ſtate are conducted; it is by cool deliberation, by prudent counſel, and by that authoritative influence which ever attends on public eſteem: qualifications, which are ſo far from being impaired, that they are uſually ſtrengthened and improved, by increaſe of years. And in this opinion, my noble friends, I am perſuaded I ſhall have your concurrence; unleſs, peradventure, you look upon me as an uſeleſs and idle member of the commonwealth, becauſe after having regularly paſſed through the ſeveral gradations of military ſervice, from the private ſoldier to the commander in chief, and been concerned in each of thoſe capacities in a variety of engagements both by ſea and land; I now no longer lead forth our armies to battle. But if I

forbear

forbear to enter perſonally into the fatigues of war; I repreſent to the ſenate its moſt proper object, and point out in what manner the operations may beſt be carried on. In ſhort, I am perpetually urging the expediency of declaring war againſt the Cartheginians, in order to anticipate them in thoſe hoſtilities which they have long been meditating againſt us: as in truth I ſhall never ceaſe to be apprehenſive of that common-wealth, 'till it ſhall no longer have any exiſtence. And may the glory of extirpating that inſidious ſtate, be reſerved, Scipio, for your arms! that you may have the honour of accompliſhing the great work, which your illuſtrious anceſtor ſo happily begun![26] Thirty-three years have now elapſed ſince the death of that great man; but his virtues are ſtill freſh on the minds of his fellow-citizens, and will be had in perpetual remembrance throughout all ſucceeding generations.[27] His death happened the year before I was elected Cenſor, and nine years after his ſecond

conſulate;[28] in which office he was choſen my collegue. But had the life of this excellent man been extended even through a whole century; can it be imagined that he would have conſidered the cloſing period of ſuch honourable days, as a ſtate to be regretted? For it was not agility in the robuſt and manly exerciſes, or ſkill and proweſs in the management of arms; it was his judgement, his counſel, and his authority alone, which he would then have had occaſion to diſplay. The truth is, if abilities of this latter kind were not the peculiar attributes of old-age, our wiſe anceſtors would not, ſurely, have diſtinguiſhed the ſupreme council of the ſtate by the appellation of *Senate*.[29] The Lacedæmonians for the ſame reaſon, give to the firſt magiſtrates in their common-wealth, the title of *Elders:* and in fact, they are always choſen out of that claſs of men.

If you look into the hiſtory of foreign nations, you will find frequent inſtances

inſtances of flouriſhing communities which, after having been well nigh ruined by the impetuous meaſures of young and unexperienced ſtateſmen, have been reſtored to their former glory by the prudent adminiſtration of more diſcreet years. "Tell me" (ſays one of the perſonages in a play of Nævius,[30] addreſſing himſelf to a citizen of a certain republic) "tell me whence it happened, that ſo conſiderable a ſtate as yours has thus ſuddenly fallen to decay?" The perſon queſtioned aſſigns ſeveral reaſons, but the principal is, "that a ſwarm of raſh, unpractiſed, young orators had unhappily broke forth and taken the lead among them." Temerity indeed, is the uſual characteriſtic of youth, as prudence is of old-age.

But it is farther urged, "that old-age impairs the memory." This effect, I confeſs, it may probably have on thoſe memories which were originally infirm, or whoſe native vigour has not been preſerved by proper exerciſe. But is

there any reaſon to ſuppoſe that Themiſtocles, who had ſo ſtrong a memory, that he knew the name of every citizen in the common-wealth, loſt this retentive power as his years increaſed, and addreſſed Ariſtides, for inſtance, by the appellation of Lyſimachus? For my own part, I ſtill perfectly well recollect the names, not only of all our principal citizens now living, but of their anceſtors alſo; and I am ſo little apprehenſive of injuring this faculty, (as is vulgarly believed) by the peruſing of Sepulchral inſcriptions;[31] that on the contrary, I find them of ſingular ſervice in recalling to my mind thoſe perſons whom death hath long ſince removed from the world. The truth is, I never yet heard of any veteran whoſe memory was ſo weakened by time, as to forget where he had concealed his treaſure. The aged indeed ſeem to be at no loſs in remembering whatever is the principal object of their attention; and few there are at that period of life who cannot readily call

to

to mind what recognizances they have entered into, or with whom they have had any pecuniary tranſactions. Innumerable inſtances of a ſtrong memory in advanced years, might be produced from among our celebrated lawyers, pontiffs, augurs and philoſophers: for the faculties of the mind will preſerve their powers in old-age, unleſs they are ſuffered to loſe their energy and become languid for want of due cultivation. And the truth of this obſervation may be confirmed, not only by thoſe examples I have mentioned from the more active and ſplendid ſtations of the world, but from inſtances equally frequent to be met with in the paths of ſtudious and retired life. Sophocles continued in extreme old-age to write tragedies. As he ſeemed to neglect his family affairs whilſt he was wholly intent on his dramatic compoſitions; his ſons inſtituted a ſuit againſt him in a court of judicature; ſuggeſting that his underſtanding was impaired, and praying that he might be removed from

the management of his eſtate: agreeably to a cuſtom which prevails likewiſe in our own country, where if a father of a family by imprudent conduct is ruining his fortunes, the magiſtrate commonly interpoſes and takes the adminiſtration out of his hands. It is ſaid that when the old bard appeared in court upon this occaſion, he deſired that he might be permitted to read a play which he had lately finiſhed, and which he then held in his hand: it was his Oedipus in Colonis.[c] His requeſt being granted; after he had finiſhed the recital he appealed to the judges, whether they could diſcover in his performance any ſymptoms of an inſane mind? and the reſult was, that the court unanimouſly diſmiſſed the complainant's petition. Did length of days weaken

[c] Sophocles had almoſt attained his hundredth year when he compoſed this tragedy; in which the marks of decayed genius is ſo far from appearing, that it was deemed by the antients an unrivalled maſter-piece of dramatic poetry. *Val. Max.* viii. 12.

weaken the powers of Homer, Heſiod, or Simonides; of Steſichorus, Iſocrates, or Gorgias? Did old-age interrupt the ſtudies of thoſe firſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed of the Greek philoſophers, Pythagoras or Democritus, Plato or Xenocrates? or, to deſcend into later times; did grey hairs prove an obſtacle to the philoſophic purſuits, of Zeno, Cleanthes, or that famous Stoic whom you may remember to have ſeen in Rome, the venerable Diogenes? on the contrary, did not each of theſe eminent perſons perſevere in their reſpective ſtudies with unbroken ſpirit, to the laſt moment of their extended lives?[32]

But not to enter farther into the conſideration of old-age, in reſpect to the nobler and more exalted application of the human faculties; I could name among my friends and neighbours in the country, ſeveral men far advanced in life, who employ themſelves with ſo much induſtry and activity in the buſineſs

buſineſs of agriculture, that they never ſuffer any of the more important articles of their huſbandry to be carried on, when they are not themſelves preſent to ſuperviſe and direct the work. I will acknowledge at the ſame time, that theſe ſpirited labours of the perſons I allude to, are not, perhaps, a matter of much wonder with regard to thoſe objects of tillage which are ſown and reaped within the year; as no man is ſo far advanced in age, as not to flatter himſelf that he may at leaſt ſurvive to enjoy the benefit of the next harveſt. But thoſe rural veterans I am ſpeaking of, are occupied alſo in branches of huſbandry, from which they are ſure that they themſelves cannot poſſibly live to derive the leaſt advantage:

"*The future ſhade for times unborn they raiſe,*"

as my friend Cæcilius expreſſes it, in his play called "the youthful compa-
"nions."

" nions."[d] Agreeably to this generous principle, the oldeſt huſbandman when he is aſk'd " to what purpoſe he lays " out his labours in the buſineſs of " planting?" may well reply; " in " obedience to the immortal Gods; " by whoſe bountiful providence as I " received theſe fields from my anceſ- " tors, ſo it is their will that I ſhould " deliver them down with improve- " ment to poſterity."

The poet's ſentiment in the verſe I juſt now repeated, is far more juſt than in thoſe lines he afterwards adds,

" *Severe the doom that length of days impoſe!*
" *To ſtand ſad witneſs of unmember'd woes.*
" *Ah! had old-age no other ills in ſtore,*
" *Too well might man its dire approach deplore:*"

for if long life may occaſion our being the painful ſpectators of many calamities, which an earlier death would have concealed from our view; it may equally

[d] A dramatic poet contemporatry with Ennius, ſee rem. 2.

equally afford us the ſatisfaction of ſeeing many happy events, which could not otherwiſe have come within our notice: not to mention that diſagreeable ſcenes will unavoidably occur to the young, no leſs than to the old. But the obſervation of my dramatic friend is ſtill more unwarrantable, when he farther declares, that,

" *Of all the ills which drooping eld await,*
" *'Tis ſure the worſt to ſtand the ſcorn, or hate,*
" *Of happier years.*"———

Why ſhould he ſuppoſe that old-age neceſſarily lays us open to a mortification of this kind? The fact is; on the one hand, as men of good ſenſe in the evening of life are generally fond of aſſociating with the younger part of the world, when they diſcover in them the marks of an amiable diſpoſition, finding a ſort of alleviation of their infirmities in gaining their affection and eſteem; ſo, on the other, well-inclined young men think themſelves equally happy

happy to be conducted into the paths of knowledge and virtue, by the guidance and inſtruction of experienced age. For my own part at leaſt, I have reaſon to believe that my company is not leſs acceptable to you, my youthful friends, than yours moſt aſſuredly is to me.

But to reſume the particular point under conſideration.—It appears that old-age is ſo far from being neceſſarily a ſtate of languor and inactivity, that it generally continues to exert itſelf in that ſort of occupation which was the favourite object of its purſuit in more vigorous years. I will add, that inſtances might be produced of men, who in this period of life have ſucceſsfully applied themſelves, even to the acquiſition of ſome art, or ſcience, to which they were before intirely ſtrangers. Thus Solon in one of his poems written when he was advanced in years, glories that "he learnt ſomething "every day he lived."[33] And old as I myſelf am, it is but lately that I acquired

quired a knowledge of the Greek language:[34] to which I applied with the more zeal and diligence, as I had long entertained an earneſt deſire of becoming acquainted with the writings and characters of thoſe excellent men, to whoſe examples I have occaſionally appealed in the courſe of our preſent converſation. Thus Socrates too in his old-age, learnt to play upon the lyre:[35] an art which the antients did not deem unworthy of their application. If I have not followed the philoſopher's example in this inſtance, (which indeed I very much regret;) I have ſpared however, no pains to make myſelf maſter of the Greek language and learning.

The next imputation againſt old-age is, that "it impairs our ſtrength:" and it muſt be acknowledged, the charge is not altogether without foundation. But for my own part, I no more regret the want of that vigour which I poſſeſſed in my youth, than I lamented in my youth that I was not endowed with

with the force of a bull, or an elephant. It is ſufficient if we exert with ſpirit, upon every proper occaſion, that degree of ſtrength which ſtill remains with us. Nothing can be more truly contemptible than a circumſtance which is related, concerning the famous Milo of Croton. This man when he was become old, obſerving a ſet of Athletic combatants that were exerciſing themſelves in the public circus; alas! ſaid he, burſting into a flood of tears, and ſtretching forth his arm, "alas! theſe "muſcles are now totally relaxed and "impotent!" Frivolous old man! it was not ſo much the debility of thy body, as the weakneſs of thy mind thou hadſt reaſon to lament; as it was by the force of mere animal proweſs, and not by thoſe ſuperior excellencies which truly enoble man, that thou hadſt rendered thy name famous. Never, I am well perſuaded, did a lamentation of this unworthy kind, eſcape the mouth of Coruncanius, or Ælius, or the late Publius Craſſus:[37] men whoſe conſummate

mate abilities in the ſcience of juriſprudence, were generouſly laid out for the common benefit of their fellow citizens; and whoſe ſuperior ſtrength of underſtanding continued in all its force and vigour, to the laſt moment of their extended lives.

It muſt be confeſſed however, that the powers of an orator (as his function cannot be ſucceſsfully executed by the force of genius alone, but requires great exertion likewiſe both of voice and geſture) muſt neceſſarily become languid and enfeebled by age. Nevertheleſs, there is a certain ſweetneſs of utterance which, I know not how, is not ſubject to be impaired by years: and this melody of voice, (old, as you ſee, I am) I may venture to ſay, I have not yet loſt. There is indeed a ſpecies of calm and compoſed elocution, extremely graceful and perfectly well adapted to advanced years; as I have frequently obſerved an eloquent old-man captivate the attention of his audience, by the charms of this ſoft and

and milder tone of delivery. But if age ſhould render the orator unequal even to this deſs laborious application of his talents; they may ſtill be uſefully exerted. They may be employed in forming young men of genius, (yourſelf, for inſtance, Scipio, or our friend Lælius), to a nervous and manly eloquence. And can there be a more pleaſing ſatisfaction to an old man, than to ſee himſelf ſurrounded by a circle of ingenuous youths; and to conciliate by theſe laudable means, their well-merited eſteem and affection? It will not, I ſuppoſe, be denied, that old-age has at leaſt a ſufficient degree of ſtrength remaining, to train the riſing generation, and inſtruct them in every duty to which they may hereafter be called: and there cannot, certainly, be a more portant, or a more honourable occupation? Accordingly, I have always thought it a very conſiderable happineſs to your relations Cneus and Publius Scipio, together with your two grand-fathers Lucius Emilius and Publius

Publius Africanus, that they were uſually accompanied by a train of young nobles, who attended them for the advantage of their inſtructions. Indeed there is a ſatisfaction in communicating uſeful knowledge of every kind, which muſt render any man happy, how much ſoever time may have impaired the powers of his body, who employs the talents of his mind to ſo noble and beneficial a purpoſe.

But after all, this imbecility of body is more frequently occaſioned by the irregularities of youth, than by the natural and neceſſary conſequences of long life. A debauched and intemperate young man will undoubtedly, if he live, tranſmit weakneſs and infirmities to his latter days. The virtuous Cyrus, in the diſcourſe which Xenophon relates he held when he lay on his death-bed, and which happened at a very late period of life, declares he had never perceived that his old-age had been attended with any ſenſible decay. I perfectly well remember Lucius Merellus,

tellus, when I was a boy. Four years after his ſecond conſulate, he was choſen chief pontiff; and he preſided two and twenty years in the ſacred college. This venerable perſonage preſerved ſuch a florid old-age to his laſt moments, as to have no reaſon to lament the depredations of time.[38] If I were to mention myſelf as an inſtance of the ſame kind, it would be only taking an old man's allowed privilege. Homer, you know, repreſents Neſtor, altho' his years had extended even to the third generation, as frequently boaſting of his extraordinary proweſs. And indeed he might well be indulged in the vanity of being the hero of his own true tale: for, as the poet ſings,

"*Words ſweet as honey from his lips diſtilled.*"[39]

And let me remark by the way, that in order to pour forth this mellifluous and perſuaſive eloquence, great ſtrength of body was by no means neceſſary: ſo much

much otherwiſe, that the celebrated general of the Grecian forces, never wiſhes for ten Ajaxes, but for ten ſuch officers at Neſtor, to be ſecure of ſoon laying the walls of Troy level with the ground.[40]

But I was going to obſerve, that I am now in my eighty-fourth year: and I wiſh I had reaſon to boaſt with Cyrus that I feel no ſenſible decay of ſtrength. But although I do not poſſeſs it in the ſame degree as when I made my firſt campaign in the Carthagenian war, in the courſe of which I was advanced to the rank of quæſtor; or when, during my conſulſhip, I commanded the army in Spain; or when four years afterwards I was military tribune at the battle of Thermopylæ;[41] yet I can with truth, you ſee, affirm that old-age has not totally relaxed my nerves and ſubdued my native vigour. My ſtrength has not yet been found to fail me, either in the ſenate or the aſſemblies of the people, when my country or my friends, my clients or my hoſts, have had

had occaſion to require my ſervice. The truth is, I have never governed myſelf by the cautious maxim of that antient proverb ſo frequently quoted, which ſays "you muſt be old ſoon, if you would be old long:" on the contrary, I would rather abate ſome years from that ſeaſon of my life, than prematurely anticipate its arrival. In conſequence of this principle, I have hitherto been always open to acceſs, when ever any perſon deſired to be introduced to me for my advice, or aſſiſtance, in their affairs.

But you will tell me perhaps, that my ſtrength is much inferior to yours. Undoubtedly it is; and ſo is yours, to that of Pontius the Athletic centurion:[c] but is he *therefore* a more valuable man? A moderate degree of force is ſufficient for all the rational purpoſes of life: and whoever will not attempt to exert

[c] An officer in the Roman legions who had the command of a *company*, conſiſting of an hundred men.

exert his particular portion farther than he is well able, will aſſuredly have no great cauſe to regret that he is not endued with a more conſiderable ſhare. Milo is ſaid to have entered the liſts at the olympic games, bearing the whole enormous weight of an ox upon his ſhoulders. Now tell me, which would you chooſe to poſſeſs; this man's extraordinary powers of body, or the ſublime genius of Pythagoras? In a word, my friends, make a good uſe of your youthful vigour ſo long as it remains; but never let it coſt you a ſigh when age ſhall have withdrawn it from you: as reaſonably indeed might youth regret the loſs of infancy, or manhood the extinction of youth. Nature conducts us, by a regular and inſenſible progreſſion, through the different ſeaſons of human life; to each of which, ſhe has annexed its proper and diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic. As imbecility is the attribute of infancy, ardour of youth, and gravity of manhood; ſo declining age has its eſſential properties,

which

which gradually diſcloſe themſelves as years increaſe.

I am perſuaded, Scipio, I need not tell you what extraordinary things that antient hoſt of your anceſtors, Maſiniſſa,[42] is ſtill capable of performing. You have heard, no doubt, that although he is at this time ninety years of age, he takes long journies ſometimes on foot and ſometimes on horſeback, without once relieving himſelf throughout the whole way, by alternately changing from the one mode of travelling to the other; that he is ſo exceedingly hardy, that no ſeverity of weather when he is abroad, can induce him to cover his head; and that having preſerved by theſe means a thin and active habit of body, he ſtill retains ſufficient ſtrength and ſpirits for diſcharging in perſon the ſeveral functions of his royal ſtation. I particularize theſe circumſtances as a proof, that by temperance and exerciſe, a man may ſecure to his old-age no inconſiderable

degree of his former ſpirit and activity.

If it muſt be acknowledged, that time will inevitably undermine the ſtrength of man; it muſt equally be acknowledged, that old-age is a ſeaſon of life, in which much vigour is by no means requiſite. Accordingly, by the laws and inſtitutions of our country, we who are advanced to a certain age, are excuſed from thoſe offices which demand robuſt powers to diſcharge. Far from being compelled to undertake what is beyond our force, we are not called upon to exert our ſtrength even to its full extent. If it be alledged, that there are numberleſs old men ſo totally worn out and decayed, as to be incapable of every kind of civil, or ſocial duty; it muſt be confeſſed there are: but may not this debility have ariſen from an original weakneſs of conſtitution? a misfortune by no means peculiar to old-age, but common to every period of human life. How great a valitudinarian was that ſon of Scipio

Scipio Africanus, who adopted you for his heir! ſo great indeed, that he ſcarcely ever enjoyed a day of uninterrupted health. Had he been formed with a leſs delicate conſtitution, he would have ſhone forth a ſecond luminary of the common-wealth: for with all the ſpirit and magnanimity of his illuſtrious father, he poſſeſſed a more improved and cultivated underſtanding.[43] What wonder then, if age is ſometimes oppreſſed with thoſe infirmities, from which youth, we ſee, is by no means ſecure.

As to thoſe effects which are the neceſſary and natural evils attendant on long life; it imports us to counteract their progreſs by a conſtant and reſolute oppoſition, and to combat the infirmities of old-age, as we would reſiſt the approaches of a diſeaſe. To this end, we ſhould be regularly attentive to the article of health; uſe moderate exerciſe; and neither eat, nor drink, more than is neceſſary for repairing our ſtrength without oppreſſing the organs

of digeſtion. Nor is this all: the intellectual faculties muſt likewiſe be aſſiſted by proper care, as well as thoſe of the body. For the powers of the mind, like the flame in the lamp, will become languid and extinct by time, if not duly and regularly recruited. Indeed the mind and body equally thrive by a ſuitable exertion of their powers; with this difference, however, that bodily exerciſe ends in fatigue; whereas the mind is never wearied by its activity. When Cæcilius therefore repreſents certain veterans, as "fit ſubjects for the comic muſe;"[f] he alludes only to thoſe weak and credulous old doting mortals, whoſe infirmities of mind are not ſo much the natural effect of their years, as the conſequence

[f] The humour of the antient comedy generally turned upon ſome old man, who was exhibited throughout the piece as perpetually impoſed upon by the cunning of an artful valet and intriguing courtizan:

——*Meretrice,*——*Davoque Chremeta*
Eludente ſenem.——Hor. Stat. i. 10.

quence of ſuffering their faculties to lie dormant and unexerted in a ſlothful and ſpiritleſs inactivity. The fact, in ſhort, is plainly this: as irregular indulgencies of the amorous paſſions, altho' a vice to which youth is in general more prone than age, is a vice, however, with which thoſe young men alone are infected who are unreſtrained by principles of virtue; ſo that ſpecies of delirium which is called dotage, is not a common weakneſs incident to every man in general, but to thoſe only who have trifled away their frivolous days in idleneſs and folly. In ſupport of this obſervation, I will inſtance the venerable Appius.[8] His family conſiſted of four ſons who were arrived at the ſtate of manhood, and five daughters, together with a numerous train of clients and dependants: yet, far advanced as he was in years, and totally deprived of his ſight, he would not

[8] See rem. 25.

commit the management of this very conſiderable houſhold to any other hands than his own. And he was abundantly equal to the important charge; having kept the ſpring and energy of his mind in conſtant action, nor ſuffered himſelf tamely to ſink down under the weight of incumbent years. In conſequence of this ſpirited conduct, he maintained a more than parental authority over his family: his commands were obeyed as ſo many imperial mandates. In fine, feared by his ſervants, reverenced by his children, and endeared to all, he exhibited in his houſe a ſtriking ſpecimen of that ſimplicity and good order, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed the domeſtic œconomy of our fore-fathers. Age is truly reſpectable in the man who thus guards himſelf from becoming the property of others; vindicates his juſt rights; and maintains his proper authority to the laſt moments of his life.

As I love to ſee the fire of youth ſomewhat tempered with the gravity of

of age; ſo, I am equally pleaſed when I obſerve the phlegm of age ſomewhat enlivened with the vivacity of youth: and whoever unites theſe two qualities in his character, may bear, indeed, the marks of years in his body, but will never diſcover the ſame traces in his mind. In purſuance of this maxim, I am now employed in adding a ſeventh book to my antiquities; in collecting all the antient records I can meet with that relate to my ſubject; in finiſhing a reviſal of the ſpeeches I made in the ſeveral important cauſes in which I have been engaged; as alſo in drawing up ſome obſervations concerning the augural, pontifical and civil law.[44] And in order to exerciſe my memory, I practice the advice of the Pythagorean philoſophers, by recalling to my mind every night all that I have ſaid, or done, or heard, the preceding day.[45] Theſe are the employments by which I keep the faculties of my underſtanding in play, and preſerve them in due vigour: employments in which

I have little reaſon, ſurely, to lament the want of mere animal ſtrength. Nor are my occupations wholly confined to thoſe of a ſedentary nature: on the contrary, I not only aſſiſt my friends in the courts of judicature; but frequently too, uncalled upon, attend the ſenate, where I propoſe ſuch meaſures for the conſideration of that aſſembly, as I have previouſly weighed and duly matured in my own thoughts. And theſe I ſupport, not indeed by ſtrength of voice and power of lungs, but by the better force of reaſon and argument.[46] But were I ſo worn down by age as to be incapable of exerting myſelf in the manner I have mentioned, yet one ſatisfaction nevertheleſs would ſtill remain with me: the ſatisfaction of meditating on theſe ſubjects as I lay on my couch, and of performing in imagination what I could no longer execute in reality. Thanks, however, to that regular and temperate courſe of life I have ever led, I am ſtill capable of taking an active part in theſe

public

public ſcenes of buſineſs. In fine, he who fills up every hour of his life in ſuch kind of labours and purſuits as thoſe I have mentioned, will inſenſibly ſlide into old-age without perceiving its arrival: and his powers, inſtead of being ſuddenly and prematurely extinguiſhed, will gradually decline by the gentle and natural effect of accumulated years.

Let us now proceed to examine the third article of complaint againſt old-age, as "bereaving us," it ſeems, "of "the ſenſual gratifications." Happy effect indeed! if it delivers us from thoſe ſnares which allure youth into ſome of the worſt vices to which that age is addicted. Suffer me upon this occaſion, my excellent young friends, to acquaint you with the ſubſtance of a diſcourſe which was held many years ſince by that illuſtrious philoſopher Archytas, of Tarentum;[47] as it was related to me when I was a young man in the army of Quintus Maximus, at the ſiege of that city. "Nature" ſaid

this illuſtrious ſage, "has not confer-
"red on mankind a more dangerous
"preſent than thoſe pleaſures which
"attend the ſenſual indulgencies; as
"the paſſions they excite are too apt
"to run away with reaſon, in a law-
"leſs and unbridled purſuit of their
"reſpective enjoyments. It is in order
"to gratify inclinations of this en-
"ſnaring kind, that men are tempted
"to hold clandeſtine correſpondence
"with the enemies of the ſtate, to
"ſubvert governments, and turn trai-
"tors to their country. In ſhort,
"there is no ſort of crimes that affect
"the public welfare, to which an in-
"ordinate love of the ſenſual pleaſures
"may not directly lead. And as to
"vices of a more private tendency;
"rapes, adulteries and every other
"flagitious violation of the moral
"duties; are they not perpetrated
"ſolely from this ſingle motive?
"Reaſon on the other hand," conti-
nued Archytas, "is the nobleſt gift
"which God, or nature, has beſtowed

"on

" on the ſons of men. Now nothing " is ſo great an enemy to that divine " endowment, as the pleaſures of ſenſe. " For neither temperance, nor any " other of the more exalted virtues, " can find a place in that breaſt, which " is under the dominion of the volup- " tuous paſſions. Imagine to your- " ſelf a man in the actual enjoyment " of the higheſt gratification, that his " animal nature is capable of receiv- " ing; there can be no doubt that " during his continuance in that ſtate, " it would be utterly impoſſible for " him to exert any one power of his " rational faculties." From hence our philoſopher inferred " that the vo- " luptuous enjoyments are attended " with a quality of the moſt noxious " and deſtructive kind; ſince in pro- " portion to their ſtrength and dura- " tion, they darken or extinguiſh eve- " ry brighter faculty of the human " ſoul."

Archytas expreſſed theſe ſentiments in a converſation with Caius Pontius,

father

father of that famous Samnite commander who obtained a victory over the conſuls ſpurius Poſtumius and Titus Veturius, at the battle of Caudium;[48] and it was related to me by our faithful ally, and my very worthy hoſt, Nearchus of Tarentum. My friend aſſured me he received this account by tradition from his anceſtors: and he added, that Plato was a party in this converſation. This circumſtance is indeed by no means improbable, as I find that philoſopher viſited Tarentum in the conſulate of Lucius Camillus and Appius Claudius.[h]

The inference I mean to draw from the authority I have cited is, that if the principles of reaſon and virtue have not been ſufficient to inſpire us with a proper contempt for the ſenſual pleaſures, we have cauſe to hold ourſelves much obliged to old-age at leaſt, for weaning

[h] They were conſuls in the year of Rome 404, about 350 years before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra.

weaning us from thoſe appetites which it would ill become us to gratify. For the voluptuous paſſions are utter enemies to all the nobler faculties of the ſoul; caſt a miſt, if I may ſo expreſs it, before the eyes of reaſon; and hold no ſort of commerce or communion with the manly virtues.

To illuſtrate the truth of this aſſertion by a particular inſtance; I will mention a fact concerning Lucius Flamininus, who was brother to that brave commander Titus Flamininus. It was with much regret that ſeven years after he had been raiſed to the dignity of conſul, I found myſelf under the neceſſity of expelling him from the ſenate: but I thought his ſcandalous debaucheries, ought not to paſs without marks of public diſgrace. This unworthy man when he commanded, during his conſulſhip, our army in Gaul, was prevailed upon by his pathic at an entertainment, to put to death one of the priſoners who were in confinement for a capital offence: and this infamous

infamous act eſcaped with impunity during the time that his brother Titus was cenſor. But when I ſucceeded him in that office, neither myſelf, nor my colleague Flaccus, could by any means be induced to think, that ſo wanton and flagitious an inſtance of abandoned cruelty and lewdneſs, ought to paſs without ſevere and diſtinguiſhed animadverſion;[49] eſpecially as it reflected diſhonour, not only on the baſe perpetrator himſelf, but in ſome meaſure too on the high office with which he was inveſted.

I have frequently heard from ſome of my friends who were much my ſeniors, a traditionary anecdote concerning Fabricius. They aſſured me, that in the early part of their lives they were told by certain very old men of their acquaintance, that when Fabricius was ambaſſador at the court of Pyrrhus, he expreſſed great aſtoniſhment at the account given him by Cineas, of a philoſopher at Athens, (for a philoſopher it ſeems, he ſtiled himſelf) who

who maintained, that the love of pleaſure was univerſally the leading motive of all human actions.[50] My informers added, that when Fabricius related this fact to M'Curius and Titus Coruncanius, they both joined in wiſhing that Pyrrhus and the whole Samnite nation might become converts to this extraordinary doctrine; as the people who were infected with ſuch unmanly principles, could not fail, they thought, of proving an eaſy conqueſt to their enemies. M'Curius had been intimately connected with Publius Decius, who in his fourth conſulate (which was five years before the former entered upon that office) glorioufly ſacrificed his life to the preſervation of his country.[51] This generous patriot was perſonally known likewiſe both to Fabricius and Coruncanius; and they were convinced by what they experienced in their own breaſts, as well as from the illuſtrious example of Decius, that there is in certain actions a natural grace and beauty that captivate by their

their intrinſic charms; and which, with a noble contempt of what the world calls *pleaſure*, every great and generous mind will ardently and invariably purſue.

I have dwelt the longer upon this article, in order to convince you, that the little reliſh which old-age leaves us for enjoyments of the ſenſual kind, is ſo far from being a juſt imputation on this period of life, that on the contrary it very conſiderably raiſes its value. If age render us incapable of taking an equal ſhare in the flowing cups, and luxurious diſhes of ſplendid tables; it ſecures us too from their unhappy conſequences: from painful indigeſtions, reſtleſs nights, and diſordered reaſon. Accordingly, the divine Plato juſtly repreſents pleaſure as the bait, by which vice enſnares and captivates her deluded votaries. But if this enticement cannot always be reſiſted; if the palate muſt ſometimes be indulged; I do not ſcruple to ſay that an old man, although his years will guard him from

from exceſs, is by no means excluded from enjoying, in a moderate degree, the convivial gratifications. I remember frequently to have ſeen when I was a boy, that illuſtrious commander who obtained our firſt naval victory over the Carthagenians, the venerable Duilius, returning from evening entertainments of this feſtive kind, preceded by a conſiderable number of flambeaux and inſtruments of muſic. He ſeemed particularly fond of being diſtinguiſhed by ſuch a pompous and ſplendid train; as indeed he is the firſt inſtance of a man not inveſted with a public character, that ventured to appear with this ſort of oſtentatious parade: a privilege, however, which in conſideration of his heroic atchievements, he might well be allowed to aſſume.[52]

But to paſs from the practice of others, to my own: I will acknowledge, that I always took a ſingular ſatisfaction in frequenting the meetings of thoſe little ſocieties which are known by the name of *confraternities*, and which were

were firſt inſtituted when I was quæſtor, on occaſion of the ſtatue of Cybele being received into our public worſhip.[53] At the return of theſe anniverſary aſſemblies, I uſed to partake with my brethren of the ſociety in their feſtive meals; never to exceſs indeed, but however with a certain freedom natural to the gay ſpirits which uſually animate that period of life, and which gradually ſubſide as more ſerious years advance. But the principal ſatisfaction I received from theſe entertainments, aroſe much leſs from the pleaſures of the palate, than from the opportunity they afforded me of enjoying the company and converſation of a very large circle of my friends. Agreeably to this way of thinking, our anceſtors diſtinguiſhed theſe kinds of amicable feaſts by the name of *convivial* banquets; as being chiefly calculated for the more rational purpoſes of ſocial and friendly intercourſe: whereas the Greeks denominate them by a term expreſſive merely of *eating* and *drinking*;

as

as if thoſe two articles, which ought to be conſidered as the leaſt and loweſt objects of the meeting, were firſt and principal in their eſtimation.[1] For my own part, I receive ſo much pleaſure from thoſe hours which are thus devoted to chearful diſcourſe, that I love to prolong my meals, not only when the company is compoſed of men of my own years (few of which, indeed, are now remaining) but when it chiefly conſiſts of ſuch young perſons as yourſelves: and I acknowledge my obligations to old-age, for having increaſed my paſſion for the pleaſures of converſation, at the ſame time that it has abated it for thoſe which depend ſolely on the palate. I would not, however,

[1] "The Romans, who were always deemed a more ſober people than the Greeks, whenever they indulged any exceſs of this kind, called it *græcari*, i. e. *græco more bibere*. The modern Greeks ſtill drink to exceſs: their feſtivals ſeldom finiſh till the gueſts are unable to proceed." *Guy's lett. on Greece.* Vol. i. *p.* 141.

however, be thought ſo profeſſed an enemy to the latter, as to deny that, within certain limits, they may very reaſonably, perhaps, be indulged: and I declare, for the ſatisfaction of thoſe who are unwilling to part with this kind of gratifications, that I do not find old-age is a diſqualification for the enjoyment of them. On the contrary, I take delight in joining thoſe ſocial parties where, agreeably to a good old cuſtom inſtituted by our anceſtors, a preſident of the club is appointed; and am much diverted to hear him deliver out his important edicts.[54] I rejoice too in thoſe moderate and refreſhing cups which Socrates recommends in Xenophon's banquet; and am well pleaſed with thoſe artificial methods of cooling, or warming the wine, as the different ſeaſons of the year invite. Even when I am in the country among my Sabine neighbours,[k] I allow myſelf

[k] Cato's patrimonial eſtate was ſituated on the borders of the Sabines, whoſe country now makes part of the Pope's dominions.

myſelf the ſame kind of indulgencies; as I every day add one to the number of their evening ſocieties, which we generally lengthen out by a variety of amuſing converſation, 'till the night is far advanced.[55]

If it be farther objected, "that the "pleaſures of the ſenſes are not ſo ex- "quiſite in old-age as in youth;" my anſwer is, that neither is the inclination towards them equally ſtrong: and certainly there can be no loſs, where there is no deſire. Sophocles when he was become old, being aſked if he engaged in amorous commerce with the fair ſex? "Heaven forbid!" replied the venerable bard) "and glad I am to "have made my eſcape from the ty- "ranny of ſo imperious a paſſion." The truth is, to be deprived of enjoyments of this kind, may be an uneaſy ſtate, perhaps, to thoſe who are ſtimulated by warm deſires; but where the paſſion is ſufficiently ſubdued and extinguiſhed, the privation is more eligible than the fruition: if, indeed, one can

can properly be ſaid to be *deprived* of a pleaſure, who is utterly void of all inclination towards it. I maintain, therefore, that there is more ſatisfaction in being delivered from the dominion of this paſſion, than in the higheſt gratification of it.

If it muſt be admitted that in the fine ſeaſon of life, the ſoul receives a ſtronger and more exquiſite impreſſion from the pleaſures of the ſenſes; it will alſo be admitted, in the firſt place, that theſe pleaſures are in themſelves but of little value; and in the next, that notwithſtanding old-age cannot enjoy them in their utmoſt extent and perfection, yet it is not abſolutely, however, excluded from them. If a ſpectator who ſits in the firſt row of the theatre, enters more thoroughly into the beauties of Turpio's[56] acting, than he who is placed in the remoteſt ranks; the latter, nevertheleſs, is not totally debarr'd from all ſhare in the entertainment. In the ſame manner, if youth holds a leſs obſtructed communi-

cation

cation with the ſenſual gratifications, than the circumſtances of age will admit; an old man, though not equally, perhaps, affected with delight, feels at leaſt as quick a reliſh of them as is neceſſary to content his more ſubdued deſires.

But whatever may be the condition of old-age with reſpect to the inſtances I have been examining; ineſtimable ſurely are its advantages if we contemplate it in another point of view: if we conſider it as delivering us from the tyranny of luſt and ambition; from the angry and contentious paſſions; from every inordinate and irrational deſire: in a word, as teaching us to retire within ourſelves, and look for happineſs in our own boſoms? If to theſe moral benefits naturally reſulting from length of days, be added that ſweet food of the mind which is gathered in the fields of ſcience; I know not any ſeaſon of life that is paſſed more agreeably, than the peaceful leiſure

ſure of a virtuous old-age occupied in ſome literary purſuit.

It was thus, Scipio, that your father's intimate friend Caius Gallus employed himſelf, to the very laſt moments of his long life: and I ſaw him expire, I had almoſt ſaid, in meaſuring the diſtances of the heavenly orbs, and determining the dimenſions of this our earth. How often has the ſun riſen upon his aſtronomical meditations; how frequently has the night overtaken him in the ſame elevated ſtudies! And with what delight did he amuſe himſelf in predicting to us, long before they happened, the ſeveral lunar and ſolar eclipſes! [57] Other ingenious applications of the mind there likewiſe are, though of a lighter nature indeed, which may greatly contribute to enliven and amuſe the evening of human life. Thus Nævius in compoſing his poem on the Carthagenian war; and Plautus in writing his two laſt comedies,[1] filled up the leiſure of their latter

[1] The *Cheat*, and the *Clown*.

ter days with wonderful complacency and ſatisfaction. I can affirm the ſame of our dramatic poet Livius, whom I remember to have ſeen in his old-age. For although the firſt play he brought upon the ſtage was in the conſulate of Cento and Tuditanus, which was ſix years before I was born; yet his death did not happen 'till I was nearly arrived at manhood. To thoſe venerable perſonages whom I have already named, I might add Licinius Craſſus, celebrated for his conſummate ſkill in the pontifical and civil laws of his country, as alſo Publius Scipio who very lately, you know, was elected chief pontiff. Theſe, together with every one of the reſt whom I have mentioned, I ſaw in the laſt ſtage of life purſuing their reſpective ſtudies, with the utmoſt ardor and alacrity. But let me not forget to add to this memorable liſt the example of Marcus Cethegus, whom Ennius juſtly ſtiled the *ſoul of eloquence*, and whom I likewiſe ſaw in his old-age exerciſing even his oratorical talents

with uncommon force and vivacity.[58]

Tell me now, can the gay amuſements of the theatre, the ſplendid luxuries of the table, or the ſoft blandiſhments of a miſtreſs, ſupply their votaries with enjoyments that may fairly ſtand in competition with theſe calm delights of the intellectual pleaſures? pleaſures, which in a mind rightly formed, and properly cultivated, never fail to improve and gather ſtrength with increaſe of years. What Solon therefore declares in the verſe I juſt now cited, that he "learnt ſomething in "his old-age every day he lived," is much to his honour: as, indeed, to be continually advancing in the paths of knowledge, is one of the moſt pleaſing ſatisfactions of the human mind.

From the pleaſures which attend a ſtudious old-age, let us turn our view to thoſe which at that period of life may be received from country-occupations; of which I profeſs myſelf a warm admirer. Theſe are pleaſures perfectly

perfectly conſiſtent with every degree of advanced years; as they approach the neareſt of all others to thoſe of the purely philoſophical kind. They are derived from obſerving the nature and properties of this our earth; which yields a ready obedience to the cultivator's induſtry, and returns with intereſt whatever he depoſits in her charge; if not always indeed with equal increaſe, yet always, however, with ſome.

But the profit which ariſes from this principle of fertility, is by no means, in my eſtimation, the moſt pleaſing circumſtance of the farmers labours: I am principally delighted with obſerving the power, and tracting the proceſs, of nature in theſe her vegetable productions. Thus when the ground is ſufficiently broken and prepared, the ſeeds-man diſſeminates the grain; which is afterwards harrowed into the boſom of the earth: by the vital warmth and moiſture of which, it is gradually expanded and

puſhed forth into the green blade. This blade ſhoots up into a knotted ſtem, which is nouriſhed and ſupported by the various fibres of the root. The ſtem terminates in the ear, wherein the grain is lodged in regular order, and defended from the depredations of the ſmaller birds by a number of little bearded ſpikes. And let me add, (for I take great pleaſure in bringing you acquainted with every circumſtance that contributes to ſooth and alleviate my bending years) that I am particularly entertained with marking the growth of the vine; and following it in its progreſs from the ſeed-plot to its perfect maturity. Not to enlarge on that wonderful power with which nature has endowed every ſpecies of the vegetable kingdom, of continuing their ſeveral kinds by their reſpective ſeeds, and which from the ſmalleſt grain, as the fig, or from little ſtones, as the vine, moſt amazingly ſwell into large trunks and branches; not to dwell, I ſay, on this method of generation com-

mon

mon to all the various tribes of plants on the face of the earth; is it poſſible to obſerve the different modes of propagating the vine by ſuckers, by layers, by the root, or by ſlips, without being affected with the moſt pleaſing admiration? This ſhrub, which is by its form a trailing plant, muſt neceſſarily creep upon the ground, unleſs it be ſupported. For this reaſon, nature has furniſhed it with little tendrils, which ſerve as a ſort of claws to lay hold of what ever ſtands within its reach, in order to raiſe itſelf into a more erect poſture. And here the art of the huſbandman is required to check its luxuriant growth, to train the irregular and depending ſhoots, and to prevent them, by a judicious pruning, from running into wood. After the vines have undergone this autumnal dreſſing, they puſh forth in ſpring from the joints of the remaining branches, little buds, which are diſtinguiſhed by the name of *gems*. From this gem the future grapes take their riſe; which

gradually increaſe in ſize by the nouriſhment they draw from the earth, in conjunction with the genial warmth of the ſun. At their firſt appearance they are extremely bitter, but in proceſs of time, and when duly matured, they acquire a moſt ſweet and delicious flavour. In the mean while, being covered and guarded by the leaves, they receive a moderate degree of heat without being too much expoſed to the ſolar rays.

There cannot, ſurely, be a landſcape more pleaſing to the eye, as well as more profitable to the owner, than a plantation of this kind. It is not, however, as I have already declared, the utility reſulting from this ſpecies of agriculture, with which I am principally charmed: the mere cultivation itſelf of this generous plant and the obſerving of its nature and properties, abſtracted from all conſiderations of emolument, afford me a moſt amuſing occupation. In ſhort, every circumſtance that relates to the management

of

of this uſeful ſhrub; the regular arrangement of the vine-props; the forming of them into arcades; the pruning ſome of the branches, and fixing layers of others; are employments in which I take much delight. To this I may add, the cutting of proper channels for ſupplying the plantation with water; the ſtirring of the earth round their roots, and the trenching of the ground: works which are in themſelves extremely entertaining, and which greatly contribute at the ſame time to meliorate and fertilize the ſoil. As to the advantage of manure, (an article which Heſiod has not taken the leaſt notice of in his poem on huſbandry;) I have ſufficiently explained my ſentiments in the treatiſe I formerly publiſhed on the ſame ſubject.[59] Homer however (who flouriſhed, I am inclined to think, many ages before Heſiod) in that part of the Odyſſey where he repreſents Laertes as diverting his melancholy for the abſence of Ulyſſes, by cultivating his lit-

tle farm, particularly mentions the circumſtance of his manuring it with compoſt.[60]

But the amuſement of farming is not confined to one ſpecies of agriculture alone; to the cultivation of vineyards or woodlands, of arable or meadow grounds: the orchard and the flower-garden contribute alſo to diverſify its pleaſures; not to mention the feeding of cattle and the rearing of bees. And beſides the entertainment which ariſes from planting, I may add the method of propagating trees by the means of ingrafting: an art which is one of the moſt ingenious improvements, I think, that ever was made in the buſineſs of agriculture.[m]

I might

[m] The philoſophic Cowley entertained the ſame high opinion of this powerful art, and has celebrated, in ſome of his beſt ſtrains, the wonderful transformations it produces:

We no where art do ſo triumphant ſee,
As when it grafts, or buds, the tree.

In

I might proceed to point out many other pleaſing articles of rural occupations, if I were not ſenſible that I have already

In other things we count it to excel,
If it a docile ſcholar can appear
To nature, and but imitate her well:
It over-rules and is her maſter here.
It imitates her maſter's power divine,
And changes her ſometimes, and ſometimes does refine.
It does, like grace, the fallen tree reſtore
To its beſt ſtate of paradiſe before.
Who would not joy to ſee his conqu'ring hand,
O'er all the vegetable world command?
And the wild giants of the wood receive
What law he's pleas'd to give?
He bids th' ill-natur'd crab produce
The gentler apple's winy juice;
The golden fruit, that worthy is
Of Galatea's *purple kiſs.*
He does the ſavage haw-thorn teach
To bear the medler and the pear:
He bids the ruſtic plum to rear
A noble trunk and be a peach.
Ev'n Daphne's *coyneſs he does mock,*
And weds the cherry to her ſtock,

already been too prolix. But if the love I bear to this agreeable art, together with that talkative diſpoſition which is incident to my time of life; (for I would not appear ſo partial to old-age as to vindicate it from all the infirmities with which it is charged) if I have dwelt longer, I ſay, upon this ſubject than was neceſſary; I rely, my friends, on your indulgence for a pardon. Suffer me however to add, that Manius Curius, after having conquered the Samnites, the Sabines, and even Pyrrhus himſelf, paſſed the honourable remainder of his declining years in cultivating his farm. The villa in which he lived, is ſituated at no great diſtance from my own; and I can never behold it without reflecting, with the higheſt degree of admiration, both on

Tho' ſhe refus'd Apollo's *ſuit:*
Ev'n ſhe, that chaſte and virgin-tree,
Now wonders at herſelf, to ſee
That ſhe's a mother made, and bluſhes in her fruit.

Ode on Gardening, *Stan.* 10.

on the ſingular moderation of his mind, and the general ſimplicity of the age in which he flouriſhed. Here it was, while ſitting by his fire-ſide, that he nobly rejected a conſiderable quantity of gold which was offered to him on the part of the Samnites: and rejected it with this memorable ſaying; that "he placed his glory, not in the "abundance of his own wealth, but "in commanding thoſe among whom "it abounded." [61] Can it be doubted that a mind raiſed and ennobled by ſuch juſt and generous ſentiments, muſt render old-age a ſtate full of complacency and ſatisfaction?

But not to wander from that ſcene of life in which I am myſelf more particularly concerned, let us return to our farmers. In thoſe good days I am ſpeaking of, the members of the ſenate, who were always men advanced in years, were called forth from their fields as often as the affairs of the ſtate demanded their aſſiſtance. Thus Cincinnatus was following his plough, when

when notice was brought to him that he was created dictator. It was during his exerciſe of this high office that his maſter of the horſe, Servilius Ahala, in conſequence of the ſpirited orders he received from the dictator, ſeized upon Spurius Mælius and inſtantly put him to death, before he had time to execute his traiterous purpoſe of uſurping the reins of government.[62] Curius too, and all the reſt of the venerable ſenators of that age, conſtantly reſided at their villas. For which reaſon a particular officer was appointed, (called a *courier*, from the nature of his employment) whoſe buſineſs it was to give them notice when there was a meeting of the ſenate.

Now tell me, my friends, could the old-age of theſe reſpectable patriots, who thus amuſed their declining years in cultivating their lands, be juſtly deemed a ſtate of infelicity? In my opinion indeed, no kind of occupation, is more pregnant with happineſs; not only as the buſineſs of huſbandry is of ſingular

ſingular utility to mankind in general, but as being attended alſo (to repeat what I have already obſerved) with peculiar and very conſiderable pleaſures. I will add too, as a farther recommendation of rural employment, (and I mention it in order to be reſtored to the good graces of the voluptuous) that it ſupplies both the table and the altar with the greateſt variety and abundance. Accordingly, the magazines of the ſkilful and induſtrious farmer are plentifully ſtored with wine, and oil, with milk, cheeſe and honey; as his yards abound with poultry, and his fields with flocks and herds of kids, lambs, and porkets. The garden alſo furniſhes him with an additional ſource of delicacies: in alluſion to which the farmers pleaſantly call the piece of ground allotted to that uſe, their *deſert*. I muſt not omit likewiſe, that in the intervals of their more important buſineſs, and in order to heighten the reliſh of the reſt, the ſports of the field claim a ſhare

a ſhare in the variety of their amuſements.

I might expatiate on the beauties of their verdant groves and meadows, on the charming landſcape that their vineyards and their olive-yards preſent to view: but to ſay all in one word, there cannot be a more pleaſing, nor a more profitable ſcene, than that of a well-cultivated farm. Now old-age is ſo far from being an obſtacle to enjoyments of this kind, that on the contrary, it rather invites and allures us to the fruition of them. For where, let me aſk, can a man in that laſt ſtage of life, more eaſily find the comforts in winter of a warm ſun, or a good fire? or the benefit in ſummer, of cooling ſhades and refreſhing ſtreams?

As to the ſeveral articles of rural diverſions; let thoſe of a more firm and vigorous age, enjoy the robuſt ſports which are ſuitable to that ſeaſon of life: let them exert their manly ſtrength and addreſs in darting the javelin, or contending in the race; in wielding the bat,

bat, or throwing the ball; in riding, or in ſwimming; but let them, out of the abundance of their many other recreations, reſign to us old fellows the ſedentary games of hazard. Yet, if they think proper even in theſe to reſerve to themſelves an excluſive right, I ſhall not controvert their claim; as they are amuſements by no means eſſential to a philoſophic old-age.

The writings of Xenophon abound with a variety of the moſt uſeful obſervations; and I am perſuaded it is altogether unneceſſary to recommend them to your careful peruſal. In his treatiſe entitled *æconomics*, with what a flow of eloquence does he break forth in praiſe of agriculture! an art above all others, you will obſerve, which he deemed worthy of a monarch's attention. In view to this, he introduces Socrates informing his friend Critobulus, that when Lyſander of Lacedæmon, a man of great and eminent virtues,[63] was deputed by the confederate ſtates to the court of Sardis with their reſpective preſents

preſents to the younger Cyrus, that great prince, no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his genius than by the glory of his reign, received him in the moſt gracious manner; and among other inſtances of affability conducted him to an incloſure laid out with conſummate ſkill and judgement. Lyſander, ſtruck with the height and regularity of the trees, the neatneſs of the walks and borders, together with the beauty and fragrance of the ſeveral ſhrubs and flowers, expreſſed great admiration not only at the induſtry, but the genius that was diſcovered in the ſcene he was ſurveying: upon which the prince aſſured him that the whole was laid out by himſelf, and that many of the trees were even planted by his own hand. Lyſander, aſtoniſhed at this declaration from the mouth of a monarch whom he beheld arrayed in all the ſplendor of Perſian magnificence, replied with emotion, "Oh! Cyrus, "I am now convinced, that you are "really as happy as report has repre-"ſented you, ſince your good fortune

"is

" is no leſs eminent than your exalted " virtues."

The good fortune to which Lyſander alluded, is an article of felicity to which old-age is by no means an obſtacle; as the pleaſure reſulting from every rational application of the intellectual faculties, but particularly from the ſtudy of huſbandry, is conſiſtent even with its lateſt period. Accordingly tradition informs us, that Valerius Corvus, [2] who lived to the age of an hundred, ſpent the latter part of his long life in the cultivation and improvement of his farm. It is remarkable of this celebrated perſon, that no leſs than forty-ſix years intervened between his firſt and his laſt conſulſhip; ſo that his career of honours was equal to that period which our anceſtors marked out for the commencement of old-age. [n]

But

[n] When Servius Tullius claſſed the Roman people, he divided their ages into three periods; limiting childhood to the age of ſeventeen, youth to forty-ſix, and old-age from thence to the end of life. *Aul. Gel.* x. 28.

But his felicity did not terminate with his retiring from public affairs: on the contrary, he was in one reſpect at leaſt even happier in the latter part of his life, than when he filled the firſt offices of the ſtate; as his great age, at the ſame time that it exempted him from the fatigue of bearing an active part in the adminiſtration of the common-wealth, added weight and influence to his general credit and authority. [64]

The crown and glory of grey hairs is, indeed, that kind of authority which thus ariſes from a reſpectable old-age. How conſiderable did this appear in thoſe venerable perſonages, Cæcilius Metellus and Attilius Calatinus![65] You remember, no doubt, the ſingular and celebrated eulogy inſcribed on the monument of the latter; that "All na-" tions agreed in eſteeming him as the " firſt of Romans." The influence he maintained over his fellow-citizens, was certainly founded upon the moſt unqueſtionable claim, ſince his merit was thus univerſally acknowledged and admired.

admired. To the inſtances already mentioned, I might add our late chief pontiff Publius Craſſus, together with Marcus Lepidus [66] who ſucceeded him in that dignity. And, if it were neceſſary, I might enlarge this illuſtrious liſt with the revered names of Paulus Æmilius, Scipio Africanus, and Fabius Maximus, the lattter of whom I have already taken occaſion to mention with peculiar eſteem. Theſe were all of them men of ſuch approved and reſpected characters, that even their very nod alone carried with it irreſiſtible authority. In a word, that general deference which is ever paid to a wiſe and good old-man, eſpecially if his virtues have been dignified by the public honours of his country, affords a truer and more ſolid ſatisfaction than all the pleaſures which attend on the gay ſeaſon of life.

But let it be remembered, my noble friends, that when I ſpeak thus advantageouſly of that portion of life we are now conſidering, I would be underſtood

ſtood to mean only that reſpectable old-age which ſtands ſupported on the firm foundations of a well-ſpent youth. Agreeably to this principle, I once declared upon a public occaſion, that "miſerable indeed muſt that old man "be, whoſe former life ſtood in need "of an apology:" a ſentiment, I had the ſatisfaction to obſerve, which was received by the whole audience with uncommon applauſe. It is not merely wrinkles and grey hairs, which can command that authoritative veneration, of which I have been ſpeaking: He alone ſhall taſte this ſweet fruit of revered age, whoſe former years have been diſtinguiſhed by an uniform ſeries of laudable and meritorious actions.

But beſides thoſe more important advantages I have already pointed out as attending an honourable old-age; it may be farther obſerved, that there are certain cuſtomary deferences and attentions which, altho' they may be conſidered, perhaps, as common and inſignificant

ſignificant ceremonials, are undoubtedly, however, very honourable marks of general reſpect. Obſervances of this kind, are ſtrictly practiſed in our own country; as, indeed, they likewiſe are in every other, in proportion to its advancement in civilized and poliſhed manners. It is ſaid that Lyſander, whom I juſt now took occaſion to mention, uſed frequently to remark that Lacedæmon, of all the cities he knew, was the moſt eligible for an old man's reſidence: and it muſt be acknowledged, there is no place in the world where age is treated with ſo much civility and regard. Accordingly it is reported, that a certain Athenian far advanced in years coming into the theatre at Athens when it was extremely crowded, not one of his countrymen had the good manners to make room for him; but when he approached that part of the theatre which was appropriated to the Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors, they every one of them roſe up, and offered him a place among them. Repeated claps

of

of applauſe immediately enſued from the whole aſſembly; upon which one of the ſpectators remarked, " that the " Athenians underſtood politeneſs " much better than they practiſed it."

There are many excellent rules eſtabliſhed in the ſacred college of which I am a member;[67] one of theſe, as it relates to the particular circumſtance immediately under conſideration, I cannot forbear mentioning. Every augur delivers his opinion upon any queſtion in debate, according to his ſeniority in point of years; and he takes precedency of all the younger members, even altho' they ſhould be in the higheſt degree his ſuperiors in point of rank.

And now I will venture once more to aſk, if there is a pleaſure in any of the mere ſenſual gratifications, which can equal the ſatisfaction ariſing from theſe valuable privileges thus conferred on old-age? To which I will only add, that he who knows, how to enjoy theſe honourable diſtinctions with ſuitable dignity to the concluſion of his days, may

may be conſidered as having ſupported his part on the great theatre of the world with uniform ſpirit and propriety, and not, like an unpractiſed player, to have diſgracefully failed in the laſt finiſhing act of the drama.

I ſhall be told, perhaps, if we look into the world, we ſhall find that "petulance, moroſeneſs, and even avarice itſelf, are infirmities which generally break out and diſcover themſelves in old-age." But the truth is, theſe moral diſeaſes of the mind, are rather the conſtitutional imperfections of the man in whom they reſide, than neceſſary defects inſeparable from the wane of life. Indeed this peeviſhneſs of temper may, I will not ſay be juſtified, but certainly at leaſt in ſome meaſure excuſed, from that ſuſpicion which old men are too apt to entertain, of their being generally marked by the younger part of the world as objects of their ſcorn and deriſion. Add to this, that where the conſtitution is broken and worn out, the mind becomes the more

more ſenſible of every little offence, and is diſpoſed to magnify unintentional ſlights into real and deſigned inſults. But this captious and irritable diſpoſition incident to this ſeaſon of life, may be much ſoftened and ſubdued in a mind actuated by the principles of good manners, and improved by liberal accompliſhments. Examples of this kind muſt have occurred to every man's experience of the world; as they are frequently exhibited alſo on the ſtage. What a ſtriking contraſt, for inſtance, between the two old men in Terence's play called the *Brothers!* Mitio is all mildneſs and good humour; whereas Demea, on the contrary, is repreſented as an abſolute churl. The fact, in ſhort, is plainly this: as it is not every kind of wine, ſo neither is it every ſort of temper, that turns ſour by age. But I muſt obſerve at the ſame time, there is a certain gravity of deportment extremely becoming in advanced years, and which, as in other virtues, when it preſerves its proper bounds, and does

not

not degenerate into an acerbity of manners, I very much approve. As to *avarice*; it is inconceivable for what purpoſe that paſſion ſhould find admittance into an old man's breaſt. For ſurely nothing can be more irrational and abſurd, than to increaſe our proviſion for the road, the nearer we approach to our journey's end.

It remains only to conſider the fourth and laſt imputation, on that period of life at which I am arrived. "Old-age, it ſeems, "muſt neceſſarily be a ſtate "of much anxiety and diſquietude, "from the near approach of death." That the hour of diſſolution cannot poſſibly be far diſtant from an old man, is moſt undoubtedly certain: but unhappy indeed muſt he be, if in ſo long a courſe of years he has yet to learn, that there is nothing in that circumſtance which can reaſonably alarm his fears. On the contrary, it is an event, either utterly to be diſregarded, if it extinguiſh the ſoul's exiſtence; or much to be wiſhed, if it

convey her to ſome region where ſhe ſhall continue to exiſt forever. One of thoſe two conſequences muſt neceſſarily enſue the diſunion of the ſoul and body: there is no other poſſible alternative. What then have I to fear, if after death I ſhall either not be miſerable, or ſhall certainly be happy?[68] But after all, is there any man, how young ſoever he may be, who can be ſo weak as to promiſe himſelf, with confidence, that he ſhall live even till night? In fact, young people are more expoſed to mortal accidents, than even the aged. They are alſo not only more liable to natural diſeaſes; but as they are generally attacked by them in a more violent manner, are obliged to obtain their cure, if they happen to recover, by a more painful courſe of medical operations. Hence it is, that there are but few among mankind who arrive at old-age:[o] and this (to remark it

[o] It appears by calculations formed on the bills of mortality, that out of an hundred perſons

it by the way) will ſuggeſt a reaſon why the affairs of the world are no better conducted. For age brings along with it experience, diſcretion and judgment; without which, no well formed government could have been eſtabliſhed, or can be maintained. But not to wander from the point under our preſent conſideration; why ſhould death be deemed an evil peculiarly impending on old-age, when daily experience proves, that it is common to every other period of human life? Of this truth, both you and I, Scipio, have a very ſevere conviction in our reſpective families: in yours, by the premature deceaſe of your two brothers, who had given their friends a moſt promiſing earneſt that their merit would one day raiſe them to the higheſt honours of the ſtate: and

perſons born in the ſame week, there are not more than ten who reach forty-ſix years. But it is proper to add, that this computation is built on the havock that is made of the human ſpecies by being crowded together in large cities.

in mine, by the loſs of my truly excellent ſon.[69]

It will be replied, perhaps, that "youth may at leaſt entertain the "*hope* of enjoying many additional "years; whereas an old man cannot "rationally encourage ſo pleaſing an "expectation." But is it not a mark of extreme weakneſs, to rely upon precarious contingences, and to conſider an event as abſolutely to take place, which is altogether doubtful and uncertain? But admitting that the young may indulge this expectation with the higheſt reaſon; ſtill the advantage evidently lies on the ſide of the old: as the latter is already in poſſeſſion of that length of life, which the former can only *hope* to attain. "*Length* of "life," did I ſay? good Gods! what is there in the utmoſt extent of human duration, that can properly be called *long*; even if our days ſhould prove as numerous as thoſe of Arganthonius, the king of the Tarteſſi; who reigned, as hiſtory tells us, eighty years, and lived

to

to the age of an hundred and twenty![70] In my own opinion indeed, no portion of time can juſtly be deemed long, that will neceſſarily have an end; ſince the longeſt, when once it is elapſed, leaves not a trace behind, and nothing valuable remains with us but the conſcious ſatisfaction of having employed it well. Thus hours and days, months and years, glide imperceptibly away; the paſt never to return; the future involved in impenitrable obſcurity! But whatever the extent of our preſent duration may prove, we ought to be contented with the allotted meaſure; remembering that it is in life, as on the ſtage, where the actor is not permitted to chooſe in what part of the drama he ſhall make his final exit: it is ſufficient; in whatever ſcene his part may conclude, if he ſupports the character aſſigned him with deſerved applauſe. The truth is, in order to merit this diſtinguiſhing *plaudit*, it is by no means neceſſary that our days ſhould be meaſured out to the extreme limits of

human life; as a ſmall portion of time is abundantly ſufficient for the purpoſes of honour and virtue. But ſhould our years continue to be multiplied; a wiſe man will no more lament his entrance into old-age, than the huſbandman regrets, when the bloom and fragrancy of the ſpring is paſſed away, that ſummer, or autumn, is arrived. Youth is the vernal ſeaſon of life; and the *bloſſoms*, it then puts forth, are indications of thoſe future fruits which are to be gathered in the ſucceeding periods. Now the proper *fruit* to be gathered in the winter of our days, is, as I have repeatedly obſerved, to be able to look back with ſelf-approving ſatisfaction on the *happy* and *abundant* produce of more active years.

But to reſume the principal point we were diſcuſſing—Every event, agreeable to the courſe of nature, ought to be looked upon as a real *good:* and ſurely none can be more *natural* than for an old man to die. It is true, youth likewiſe ſtands expoſed to the ſame

ſame diſſolution: but it is a diſſolution contrary to nature's evident intentions, and in direct oppoſition to her ſtrongeſt efforts. In the latter inſtance; the privation of life may be reſembled to a fire forcibly extinguiſhed by a deluge of water; in the former, to a fire ſpontaneouſly and gradually going out from a total conſumption of its fuel. Or, to have recourſe to another illuſtration, as fruit before it is ripe cannot, without ſome degree of force, be ſeparated from the ſtalk, but drops of it ſelf when perfectly mature; ſo the diſunion of the ſoul and body is effected in the young by dint of violence, but is wrought in the old by a mere fullneſs and completion of years. This ripeneſs for death I perceive in myſelf, with much ſatisfaction; and I look forward to my diſſolution as to a ſecure haven, where I ſhall at length find a happy repoſe from the fatigues of a long voyage.

Every ſtage of human life, except the laſt, is marked out by certain and de-

fined limits; old-age alone has no preciſe and determinate boundary.[p] It may well therefore be ſuſtained to any period, how far ſoever it may be extended, provided a man is capable of performing thoſe offices which are ſuited to this ſeaſon of life, and preſerves at the ſame time a perfect indifference with reſpect to its continuance. Old-age under theſe circumſtances, and with theſe ſentiments, may be animated with more courage and fortitude than is uſually found even in the prime of life. Accordingly Solon, it is ſaid, being queſtioned by the tyrant Piſiſtratus, what it was that inſpired him with the boldneſs to oppoſe his meaſures? bravely replied, "my old-age."[71] Nevertheleſs, the moſt deſirable manner of yielding up our lives is, when nature herſelf, while our underſtandings and our other ſenſes[q] ſtill remain unimpaired,

[p] See note, p. 89.

[q] The Stoics conſidered the underſtanding as in the number of the ſenſes. *Vid. Acad: Queſt.* iv. 10.

paired, thinks proper to deſtroy the work of her own hand: as the artiſt who conſtructed the machine, is beſt qualified to take it to pieces. In ſhort, an old man ſhould neither be anxious to preſerve the ſmall portion of life which remains to him; nor forward to reſign it without a juſt cauſe. It was one of the prohibitions of Pythagoras "not to quit our poſt of life without "being authorized by the commander "who placed us in it:" that is, not without the permiſſion of the Supreme Being.[72]

The Epitaph which the wiſe Solon ordered to be inſcribed on his monument, expreſſes his wiſh that his death might not paſs undiſtinguiſhed by the ſorrowful exclamations of his ſurviving friends. It was natural, I confeſs, to deſire to be remembered with regret by thoſe with whom he had been intimately and tenderly connected; yet I am inclined to give the preference to the ſentiment of Ennius, in thoſe famous lines,

" *Nor loud lament, nor ſilent tear deplore,*
" *The fate of Ennius when he breathes no more.*"

In the poet's eſtimation, death, which opens the way to immortality, is by no means a ſubject of reaſonable lamentation. The act of dying may indeed be attended with a ſenſe of pain; but a pain however which cannot be of long continuance; eſpecially to a man greatly advanced in years. And as to the conſequence of death; it muſt either be a ſtate of total inſenſibility, or of ſenſations much to be deſired. This is a truth upon which we ought continually to meditate from our earlieſt youth, if we would be impreſſed with a juſt and firm contempt of death; as without this impreſſion, it is impoſſible to enjoy tranquillity. For as death is a change which, ſooner, or later, perhaps even this very moment, we muſt inevitably undergo; is it poſſible that he who lives in the perpetual dread of an event with which he is every inſtant threatened,

ſhould

ſhould know the ſatisfaction of poſſeſſing an undiſturbed repoſe and ſerenity of mind?

When I reflect on the conduct of Junius Brutus, who loſt his life in the ſupport of the liberties of his country; on the two Decii who ruſhed to certain death from the ſame patriotic principle;[73] on Marcus Attilius who delivered himſelf up to the torture of a moſt cruel execution, that he might not forfeit his word of honour which he had pledged to the enemy;[74] on the two Scipios who, if it had been poſſible, would willingly have formed a rampart with their own bodies againſt the invaſion of the Carthagenians;[75] on Lucius Paullus, your illuſtrious grandfather, who by his heroic death expiated the ignominy we ſuſtained by the temerity of his collegue, at the battle of Cannæ;[76] on Marcus Marcellus, whoſe magnanimity was ſo univerſally reſpected, that even the moſt cruel of our enemies would not ſuffer his dead body to be deprived of funeral honours:

nours :[77] when I reflect, I ſay, not only on the generous contempt of life which theſe heroic perſonages exhibited, but that whole legions of our troops (particular inſtances of which I have produced in my treatiſe on Roman antiquities) have frequently marched with undaunted courage, and even alacrity, to attacks, from which they were well perſuaded not one of them could live to return; it ſhould ſeem there is little occaſion to enlarge upon the contempt of death. For if the very common ſoldiers of our armies, who are frequently raw illiterate young peaſants, are thus capable of deſpiſing it's imaginary terrors; ſhall old-age, with all the ſuperior advantages of reaſon and philoſophy, tremble at the thoughts of its near approach?

The diſtaſte with which, in paſſing through the ſeveral ſtages of our preſent being, we leave behind us the reſpective enjoyments peculiar to each; muſt neceſſarily, I ſhould think, in the cloſe of its lateſt period, render life itſelf

itſelf no longer deſirable. Infancy and youth, manhood and old-age, have each of them their peculiar and appropriated purſuits. But does youth regret the toys of infancy, or manhood lament that it has no longer a taſte for the amuſements of youth? The ſeaſon of manhood has alſo its ſuitable objects, that are exchanged for others in old-age: and theſe too, like all the preceeding, become languid and inſipid in their turn.[r] Now when this ſtate of abſolute

[r] Cicero derives conſolation to his reader from this diſguſt which attends even the proper and reaſonable purſuits of man, as he advances from one period to another of his preſent being. Mr. Pope in his ethic epiſtles has placed this changeful diſpoſition in human nature, in a more mortifying point of view; and no leſs agreeably to truth, than to the ſatyric genius of his muſe, has repreſented the ſucceſſive variations in thoſe objects which engage the paſſions of the generality of mankind, as no better than a change of playthings from the cradle to the grave.

Behold

abſolute ſatiety is at length arrived; when we have enjoyed the ſatisfactions peculiar to old-age, 'till we have no longer any reliſh remaining for them; it is then that death may juſtly be conſidered as a mature and ſeaſonable event.

And now, among the different ſentiments of the philoſophers concerning the conſequence of our final diſſolution, may I not venture to declare my own? and the rather, as the nearer death advances towards me, the more clearly I ſeem to diſcern its real nature.

I am well convinced then, that my dear departed friends, your two illuſtrious

Behold the child, by nature's kindly law,
Pleas'd with a rattle, tickled with a ſtraw.
Some livelier play-thing gives his youth delight,
A little louder, but as empty quite.
Scarfs, garters, gold, amuſe his riper ſtage;
And beads and pray'r-books are the toys of age:
Pleas'd with this *bauble as with* that *before,*
'Till tir'd he ſleeps, and life's poor play is o'er.

Eſſay on Man. xi. 275

trious fathers, are ſo far from having ceaſed to live; that the ſtate they now enjoy can alone with propriety be call'd *life*. The ſoul during her confinement within this priſon of the body, is doomed by fate to undergo a ſevere penance. For her native ſeat is in heaven; and it is with reluctance that ſhe is forced down from thoſe celeſtial manſions into theſe lower regions, where all is foreign and repugnant to her divine nature.[78] But the Gods, I am perſuaded, have thus widely diſſeminated immortal ſpirits, and clothed them with human bodies, that there might be a race of intelligent creatures, not only to have dominion over this our earth, but to contemplate the hoſt of heaven, and imitate in their moral conduct the ſame beautiful order and uniformity, ſo conſpicuous in thoſe ſplendid orbs. This opinion I am induced to embrace, not only as agreeable to the beſt deductions of reaſon, but in juſt deference alſo to the authority of the nobleſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed

ed philoſophers. Accordingly Pythagoras and his followers (who were formerly diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Italic Sect) firmly maintained, that the human ſoul is a detached part, or emanation, from the great univerſal ſoul of the world.[79] I am further confirmed in my belief of the ſoul's immortality, by the diſcourſe which Socrates, whom the oracle of Apollo pronounced to be the wiſeſt of men,[80] held upon this ſubject juſt before his death. In a word, when I conſider the faculties with which the human mind is endued; its amazing celerity; its wonderful power in recollecting paſt events, and ſagacity in diſcerning future; together with its numberleſs diſcoveries in the ſeveral arts and ſciences, I feel a conſcious conviction that this active, comprehenſive principle, cannot poſſibly be of a mortal nature. And as this unceaſing activity of the ſoul, derives its energy from its own innate powers, without receiving it from any foreign, or external, impulſe; it neceſſarily follows (as

it

it is abſurd to ſuppoſe the ſoul could ever deſert itſelf) that its activity muſt continue for ever. But farther; as the ſoul is evidently a ſimple, uncompounded ſubſtance, without any diſſimilar parts, or heterogeneous mixture; it cannot therefore be divided: conſequently it cannot periſh. I might add, that the facility and expedition with which youth are taught to acquire numberleſs very difficult arts, is a ſtrong preſumption that the ſoul poſſeſſed a conſiderable portion of knowledge, before it entered into the human form; and that what ſeems to be received from inſtruction, is, in fact, no other than a reminiſcence, or recollection of its former ideas. This at leaſt is the opinion of Plato.[81]

Xenophon, likewiſe, repreſents the elder Cyrus in his laſt moments, as expreſſing his belief of the ſoul's immortality in the following terms. "O! "my ſons! do not imagine when death "ſhall have ſeparated me from you, "that I ſhall ceaſe to exiſt. You be-

"held

" held not my ſoul whilſt I continued
" amongſt you; yet you concluded that
" I had one, from the actions you ſaw
" me perform: infer the ſame when
" you ſhall ſee me no more. If the
" ſouls of departed worthies, did not
" watch over and guard their ſurviving
" fame; the renown of their illuſtri-
" ous actions would ſoon be worn out
" of the memory of men.[82] For my
" own part, I never could be perſuaded
" that the ſoul could properly be ſaid
" to live whilſt it remained in this
" mortal body, or that it ceaſed to live
" when death had diſſolved the vital
" union. I never could believe, either
" that it became void of ſenſe when it
" eſcaped from its connection with
" ſenſeleſs matter, or that its intellec-
" tual powers were not enlarged and
" improved when it was diſcharged
" and refined from all corporeal ad-
" mixture. When death has diſunited
" the human frame, we clearly ſee
" what becomes of its material parts;
" as they apparently return to the ſe-

" veral

" veral elements out of which they
" were originally compoſed: but the
" ſoul continues to remain inviſible
" both when ſhe is preſent in the bo-
" dy, and when ſhe departs out of it.
" Nothing ſo nearly reſembles death,
" as ſleep; and nothing ſo ſtrongly in-
" timates the divinity of the ſoul, as
" what paſſes in the mind upon that
" occaſion.[83] For the intellectual prin-
" ciple in man, during this ſtate of
" relaxation and freedom from exter-
" nal impreſſions, frequently looks
" forward into futurity, and diſcerns
" events ere time has yet brought them
" forth:[84] a plain indication this,
" what the powers of the ſoul will
" hereafter be, when ſhe ſhall be de-
" livered from the reſtraints of her
" preſent bondage. If I ſhould not
" therefore be miſtaken in this my firm
" perſuaſion, you will have reaſon,
" my ſons, when death ſhall have re-
" moved me from your view, to revere
" me as a ſacred and celeſtial ſpirit.
" But although the ſoul ſhould periſh
" with

" with the body, I recommend it to " you, nevertheleſs, to honour my " memory with a pious and inviolable " regard, in obedience to the immor- " tal Gods; by whoſe power and pro- " vidence this beautiful fabric of the " univerſe is ſuſtained and governed." —Such were the dying ſentiments of Cyrus: permit me now to expreſs my own.

Never, Scipio, can I believe that your illuſtrious anceſtors, together with many other excellent perſonages whom I need not particularly name, would have ſo ardently endeavoured to merit the honourable remembrance of poſterity, had they not been perſuaded, that they had a real intereſt in the opinion which future generations might entertain concerning them. And do you imagine, my noble friends, (if I may be indulged in an old man's privilege to boaſt of himſelf) do you imagine I would have undergone thoſe labours I have ſuſtained both in my civil and military employments, if I had

had ſuppoſed that the conſcious ſatisfaction I received from the glory of my actions, was to terminate with my preſent exiſtence? If ſuch had been my perſuaſion, would it not have been far better and more rational, to have paſſed my days in an undiſturbed and indolent repoſe, without labour and without contention?[85] But my mind, by I know not what ſecret impulſe, was ever raiſing its views into future ages; ſtrongly perſuaded that I ſhould then only begin to *live*, when I ceaſed to exiſt in the preſent world. Indeed, if the ſoul were not naturally immortal; never, ſurely, would the deſire of immortal glory be a paſſion which always exerts itſelf with the greateſt force in the nobleſt and moſt exalted boſoms.[a]

Tell

[a] "One of the beſt ſprings of generous "and worthy actions," as a very elegant and ingenious moraliſt obſerves, "is the having "generous and worthy thoughts of ourſelves. "Whoever has a mean opinion of the dig- "nity of his nature, will act in no higher a "rank

Tell me, my friends, whence is it, that thoſe men who have made the greateſt advances in true wiſdom and genuine philoſophy, are obſerved to meet death with the moſt perfect equanimity; while the ignorant and unimproved part of our ſpecies, generally ſee its approach with the utmoſt diſcompoſure and reluctance? Is it not becauſe the more enlightened the mind is, and the farther it

" rank than he has allotted himſelf in his
" own eſtimation. If he conſiders his being
" as circumſcribed by the uncertain term of
" a few years, his deſigns will be contracted
" into the ſame narrow ſpan he imagines is
" to bound his exiſtence. How can he exalt
" his thoughts to any thing great and noble,
" who believes that after a ſhort turn on the
" ſtage of this world, he is to ſink into
" oblivion, and to loſe his conſciouſneſs for-
" ever? For this reaſon—there is not a
" more improving exerciſe of the human
" mind, than to be frequently reviewing its
" own great privileges and endowments;
" nor a more effectual means to awaken in
" us an ambition raiſed above low objects
" and little purſuits, than to value ourſelves
" as heirs of eternity." *Spect.* N° 210.

it extends its view, the more clearly it diſcerns in the hour of its diſſolution, (what narrow and vulgar ſouls are too ſhort-ſighted to diſcover) that it is taking its flight into ſome happier region?

For my own part, I feel myſelf tranſported with the moſt ardent impatience to join the ſociety of my two departed friends, your illuſtrious fathers; whoſe characters I greatly reſpected, and whoſe perſons I ſincerely loved. Nor is this my earneſt deſire, confined to thoſe excellent perſons alone with whom I was formerly connected; I ardently wiſh to viſit alſo thoſe celebrated worthies, of whoſe honourable conduct I have heard and read much, or whoſe virtues I have myſelf commemorated in ſome of my writings.[86] To this glorious aſſembly I am ſpeedily advancing: and I would not be turned back in my journey, even upon the aſſured condition that my youth, like that of Pelias, ſhould again be reſtored.[87] The ſincere truth is, if ſome divinity would confer upon me a new

grant

grant of my life, and replace me once more in the cradle; I would utterly and without the leaſt heſitation, reject the offer: having well nigh finiſhed my race, I have no inclination to return to the goal. For what has life to recommend it? Or rather indeed to what evils does it not expoſe us? But admit that its ſatisfactions are many; yet ſurely there is a time when we have had a ſufficient meaſure of its enjoyments, and may well depart contented with our ſhare of the feaſt: for I mean not, in imitation of ſome very conſiderable philoſophers, to repreſent the condition of human nature as a ſubject of juſt lamentation.[88] On the contrary, I am far from regretting that life was beſtowed upon me; as I have the ſatisfaction to think that I have employed it in ſuch a manner, as not to have lived in vain. In ſhort, I conſider this world as a place which nature never deſigned for my permanent abode; and I look upon my departure out of it, not as being

being driven from my habitation, but as leaving my inn.

O! glorious day! when I ſhall retire from this low and ſordid ſcene, to aſſociate with the divine aſſembly of departed ſpirits: and not with thoſe only whom I juſt now mentioned, but with my dear Cato; that beſt of ſons and moſt valuable of men! It was my ſad fate to lay his body on the funeral pile,[89] when by the courſe of nature I had reaſon to hope, he would have performed the ſame laſt office to mine. His ſoul, however, did not deſert me, but ſtill looked back upon me in its flight to thoſe happy manſions, to which he was aſſured I ſhould one day follow him. If I ſeemed to bear his death with fortitude; it was by no means becauſe I did not moſt ſenſibly feel the loſs I had ſuſtained: it was becauſe I ſupported myſelf with the conſoling reflection, that we could not long be ſeparated.[90]

Thus to think, and thus to act, has enabled me, Scipio, to bear up under

a load of years with that eaſe and complacency which both you and Lælius have ſo frequently, it ſeems, remarked with admiration: as indeed it has rendered my old-age not only no inconvenient ſtate to me, but even an agreeable one. And after all, ſhould this my firm perſuaſion of the ſoul's immortality, prove to be a mere deluſion; it is at leaſt a pleaſing deluſion,—and I will cheriſh it to my lateſt breath." I have the ſatisfaction in the mean time to be aſſured, that if death ſhould utterly extinguiſh my exiſtence, as ſome minute philoſophers aſſert; the groundleſs hopes I entertained of an after-life in ſome better ſtate, cannot expoſe me to the deriſion of theſe wonderful ſages, when they and I ſhall be no more. In all events, and even admitting that our expectations of immortality are utterly vain; there is a certain period, nevertheleſs, when death would be a conſummation moſt earneſtly to be deſired. For nature has appointed to the days of man, as to all things elſe, their proper

per limits, beyond which they are no longer of any value. In fine, old-age may be conſidered as the laſt ſcene in the great drama of life; and one would not, ſurely, wiſh to lengthen out our part 'till we ſunk down in diſguſt, and exhauſted with fatigue.

Theſe, my noble friends, are the reflections I had to lay before you on the ſubject of old-age: a period to which, I hope, you will both of you in due time arrive, and prove by your own experience, the truth of what I have aſſerted to you on mine.

REMARKS

ON

CATO:

OR, AN

ESSAY ON OLD-AGE.

REMARKS

ON

CATO, &c.

(1) TITUS POMPONIUS ATTICUS was deſcended from a family rather antient and honourable, than conſpicuous by rank and dignities. But he ennobled it by his uncommon virtues: and there is not to be found, perhaps, in all the annals of hiſtory, a more memorable perſon than this celebrated Roman. For without any advantage of birth, or ſtation; without any un-

common ſuperiority of genius; without ever having filled any office in the ſtate, or taken even the ſmalleſt part in the political contentions of his country; his character ſtands diſtinguiſhed amongſt the moſt ſhining of his illuſtrious contemporaries. But altho' his fame hath been thus tranſmitted through a long ſucceſſion of ages, unſullied by cenſure, or ſuſpicion; a late critic, of no inconſiderable note in the republic of letters, has had the ſingularity, ſhall it be called? or want of candour to enter his proteſt in form againſt the validity of his well-eſtabliſhed reputation. To endeavour to vindicate from groundleſs cavils, a character which hath ſo long been in poſſeſſion of general eſteem, may be thought an inſtance of zeal too officious, perhaps, and unneceſſary. For "the moſt pleaſing of "all harmony" (as the eloquent Balzac ingeniouſly remarks) "ariſes from the "diſſenting voice of a ſingle individual "when mixed in the general concert "of univerſal applauſe." Nevertheleſs, it

it may be a matter of ſome curioſity, to examine by what means and with what ſucceſs, the Abbé St. Real has been able to diſcover thoſe ſecret ſpots in the character of Atticus, which had lain concealed from every eye but his own.

This prejudiced critic, whoſe literary merit, however in other reſpects, it would be great injuſtice not to admire and acknowledge, has compoſed an ingenious treatiſe in order to prove, that Atticus was "a man of more artifice than probity; governing himſelf in all his ſocial connections of every kind, by no higher a principle than the ungenerous refinements of an artful and ſelfiſh policy." To ſupport this charge, it became neceſſary to blaſt the credit of a contemporary witneſs; whoſe teſtimony in favour of Atticus was never ſuſpected, 'till St. Real found it expedient for his purpoſe, to call it in queſtion. Accordingly this writer pretends, that Cornelius Nepos is ſo little to be relied upon in the ac-

count he has given of Atticus, that either thro' ignorance, or inſincerity, he has related circumſtances in the life of his friend, which are expreſsly contradicted by Cicero's letters. If this aſſertion could be maintained, it would undoubtedly very much weaken, if not entirely deſtroy, the authority of this hiſtorian: but the inſtances the French critic alledges in ſupport of this accuſation, are either produced from paſſages of very ambiguous import, or founded upon readings which the moſt judicious commentators have unanimouſly rejected. Thus the Roman biographer affirms that Atticus, *nullius res neque præs neque manceps factus eſt*: the meaning of which St. Real ſuppoſes to be, that "Atticus was never engaged in that ſort of pecuniary commerce which was carried on by the Roman knights, in farming the public revenues." This interpretation might very juſtly be diſputed with him. But taking the words in the ſenſe he chooſes they ſhould be underſtood; the

paſſage

paſſage he produces in contradiction to them from Cicero's letters, is by no means ſufficient for the purpoſe. As it ſtands indeed in the critic's quotation, it is full to his point: *Tu aliquid* Publicanus *pendis*. [ad. At. xi. 15.] But Lambinus, Grævius, Gronovius, and the judicious Mongault, all agree in reading *Tu aliquid* Publicanis *pendis*: a reading that utterly deſtroys the pretended inconſiſtency of Cornelius Nepos with Cicero.

But St. Real, not contented with thus attempting to blaſt the credit of this author as an hiſtorian, endeavours to ſink him ſtill lower in the opinion of the reader by repreſenting him "as "having been holden in no eſteem by "his contemporaries; the only illuſ-"trious part of his life being," it ſeems, "his friendſhip with Atticus." As the ingenious critic reſts this aſſertion ſingly upon his own unſupported authority; it might be ſufficient to reply, that he has no right to be credited 'till he can produce a leſs prejudiced witneſs.

witneſs. But the truth is, the aſſertion is not only without proof, but againſt the cleareſt and moſt expreſs evidence. For it appears that Cornelius Nepos lived in high repute and intimacy, not only with Atticus, but Cicero; with the latter of whom he was long engaged in a correſpondence of letters, ſome fragments of which are ſtill extant. A late French hiſtorian of Cicero's life expreſſes ſome ſurprize, that as Nepos lived in this friendly intercourſe with Cicero, the latter ſhould not have taken the leaſt notice of him in any of his writings: but his wonder would have ceaſed, if he had recollected a paſſage in the letters to Atticus, where Cicero expreſsly ſpeaks of him as a man whoſe name would deſcend with honour to the lateſt poſterity. [vid. ad At. xvi. 5.] But it is not the Roman orator alone who has done juſtice to his character: other diſtinguiſhed authors who flouriſhed in the ſame age with Cornelius Nepos, or not long after, have alſo borne teſtimony to his merit. Catullus addreſſed

addreſſed his poems to him; Pliny the naturaliſt appeals to his authority in various parts of his works; and his nephew, the younger Pliny, mentions him as a credit to the country in which he was born.

Having thus endeavoured to reſtore this elegant hiſtorian to his juſt rank in the literary and moral world; I may venture to appeal to his evidence in favour of one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters that ever dignified a private ſtation. It was in a private ſtation, indeed, that Atticus choſe to paſs his life; not becauſe he was too indolent, but too honeſt, to take a part with his ambitious contemporaries in thoſe unworthy conteſts for place and power in which they were univerſally engaged. His reputation and intereſt would eaſily have opened his way to the moſt important employments of the commonwealth: but he declined to ſolicit them; from a juſt perſuaſion that whatever benefit might accrue to himſelf from thoſe dignities, it would not be

be in his power, in the diſtracted ſituation in which public affairs were then thrown, to exerciſe them with any advantage to his country.

But although Atticus, it is probable, ſaw too clearly into the deſigns of the principal leaders of both factions, to engage in the meaſures of either; yet he generouſly employed his credit and fortune in relieving the diſtreſſes of the partizans of each, as they had occaſion, in their ſeveral turns, to take the benefit of his equal aſſiſtance. Thus, when after the battle of Modena, Anthony and his adherents were generally looked upon as irrecoverably ruined, and many of the friends of that chief had actually forſaken him; Atticus had the ſingular courage to ſtand forth as the protector of his wife and family, and of ſeveral others among Anthony's perſecuted followers. In purſuance of the ſame generous principle he ſupplied Brutus with very conſiderable remittances, when that unſucceſsful patriot found it no longer

prudent

prudent to continue in Rome. And let it be here obſerved to the particular honour of Atticus, that while the reſt of his degenerate countrymen were plundering the provinces abroad, or bartering their integrity at home, in order to procure a ſupply to their unbounded luxuries; he preſerved a conſtant reſource for theſe his well-directed bounties, by the moſt regular and judicious œconomy. It is very remarkable, however, that when the affairs of thoſe who were concerned in deſtroying Cæſar, were in a proſperous train, and a propoſal was ſet on foot to raiſe a fund for their ſupport, by a general ſubſcription among the Roman knights; Atticus refuſed to be preſent at any meeting for that purpoſe. It was his invariable maxim not to be engaged in any meaſures which had the appearance of being concerted by a faction, and he told thoſe who applied to him on that occaſion, that Brutus might freely command his purſe, but that he would in no ſort concur in forwarding the projected

jected aſſociation. This indeed would have been to violate the wiſe neutrality he had hitherto religiouſly maintained, and in which it was his laudable reſolution invariably to perſevere. By this conduct he gave a pregnant proof to the world, that his bounty flowed from much too pure and enlarged a ſource to be diverted into the narrow and polluted channels of party-politics.

It was this ſpirit of univerſal philanthropy, together with the uncommon and irreſiſtable influence of his conciliating talents, that rendered him eſteemed and beloved by men of the moſt oppoſite deſigns and diſpoſitions. Thus, although he neither flattered the power, nor in any reſpect promoted the ambitious purpoſes of Cæſar or Pompey, Anthony or Brutus, Cicero or Clodius; yet he had the ſingular addreſs to preſerve without the leaſt diminution the friendſhip of each, even at the time when the contrariety of their reſpective intereſts rendered them the moſt irreconcileable enemies to

one

one another. But if it required very uncommon qualities to be able to maintain a firm place in the affections of contending chiefs, when their mutual animoſities were raging with the utmoſt violence; it required ſtill greater, perhaps, to reconcile rival geniuſes, and prevent emulation from breaking out into enmity. This extraordinary effect, however, Atticus had powers to produce, with regard to the two nobleſt orators that ever figured in the Roman forum; Cicero and Hortenſius. He ſtood between them as their common centre of union; and while they were contending together for the glorious prize of eloquence, it was by his means that their mutual friendſhip never ſuffered the leaſt abatement or interruption. In ſhort, it appears to have been the generous pleaſure and honourable purpoſe of his whole life,

—*to ſpread friendſhips and to cover heats.*

He

He has been accuſed nevertheleſs, and it is the very candid and judicious Monſ. Mongault who brings the accuſation, of not having acted in the affair of Cicero's baniſhment with that warmth and ſincerity which the latter had reaſon to expect. But Cornelius Nepos, who was a common friend to both, expreſsly declares the contrary; affirming that in all the misfortunes which attended Cicero, he gave him the moſt queſtionable marks of his zeal and fidelity. Mongault has grounded this charge upon ſome complaints which Cicero throws out againſt this his celebrated friend, in a letter written to him during his exile. But the ingenious objector ſhould have remembered upon this occaſion, a very juſt maxim which he himſelf has advanced in one of his notes; where he obſerves, that "the unfortunate are "apt to be ſuſpicious of their friends; "and frequently without reaſon." That this maxim is peculiarly applicable to the preſent queſtion, there is the ſtrongeſt

ſtrongeſt reaſons to believe, both from the general conduct of Atticus, and the remarkably dejected and querulous ſtate of mind which Cicero appears to have laboured under during his baniſhment.

It is indeed altogether incredible that he who was the general protector of all in diſtreſs; who never forgot a benefit, nor remembered an injury; who neither courted the power, nor followed the proſperity of any man; in a word, that the humane, the generous, and the diſintereſted Atticus ſhould have deſerted the firſt and the warmeſt of his friends, at a time when he ſtood moſt in need of his good offices. The truth is, he was of all men the moſt punctual in acting up to the full extent of his obligations of every kind: and he had ſuch an abhorrence of deceit, that he never uttered a falſehood himſelf, or could endure it in another. To theſe ſingular virtues of the heart, he added the more ſhining accompliſhments of the mind. He poſſeſt an excellent taſte for the polite arts; ſpoke the Greek language,

language, as well as his own, in its utmoſt purity and perfection; was perfectly well verſed in the hiſtory and antiquities of his country; and was conſidered as one of the moſt elegant writers of the refined age in which he flouriſhed. In fine, and to ſum up his character in the words of an excellent judge of men, and who was himſelf a ſhining ornament of his age and country; "Atticus appears," ſays Sir William Temple, "to have been "one of the wiſeſt and beſt of the Ro- "mans; learned without pretending; "good without affectation; bountiful "without deſign; a friend to all men "in misfortunes, a flatterer to no man "in power; a lover of mankind and "beloved by them all. By theſe vir- "tues and diſpoſitions, he paſſed ſafe "and untouched through all the flames "of civil diſſentions, that ravaged his "country the greateſt part of his life: "and though he never entered into any "public affairs, or particular factions "of the ſtate, yet he was favoured, "honoured,

" honoured, and courted by them all, " from Sylla to Auguſtus." Thus beloved and thus honoured he died in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age; and, agreeably to his own direction, was conveyed in a private manner to the tomb of his anceſtors erected on the Appian road. *St. Real* 11. *p.* 183. *Mongault advert. Tom* xi. *p.* 10. *Aul. Gel.* xv. 28. *Plin. Ep.* v. 3. iv. 28. *Corn. Nep. in vit. At. Temple* i. *p.* 175. *fol. ed.*

(2) Titus Quintius Flamininus flouriſhed about the middle of the ſixth century from the foundation of Rome, and was one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed generals of the age in which he lived. The particular diſtreſs which gave occaſion to the poem from whence theſe verſes are quoted, does not appear: perhaps it aroſe from the part Flamininus took in his brother's diſgrace, mentioned in a ſubſequent note. See note.

The author of this poem was Quintus Ennius, one of the earlieſt of the Roman

Roman poets and the firſt who attempted the Epic. Although his works were extremely numerous, it is a few fragments of them only that have eſcaped the ravages of time. This is a loſs the more to be regreted, as they appear to have been holden in the higheſt eſteem by the moſt competent judges among his countrymen, not only of his own times, but of the ſubſequent and more refined ages. Lucretius taking notice of an opinion which Ennius adopted concerning the tranſmigration of the ſoul, and which he had wrought into one of his poems, breaks out into the following ſtrains of applauſe:

Ennius ut noſter cecinit, qui primus amœno
Detulit ex Helicone perenni frunde coronam,
Per genteis Italas hominum quæ clara clueret.

And there were ſome critics, as appears from Horace, who did not ſcruple to place him in a rank inferior only to the immortal Homer. His genius recommended

mended him to the notice of Cato, who having found him in Sardinia when he had the government of that province as prætor, took him under his protection and brought him to Rome: an act that did Cato not leſs honour, ſays the Roman hiſtorian of his life, than if he had derived from his adminiſtration of that iſland the moſt ſplendid triumph. But the moſt unqueſtionable proof of our poet's genius is, that Virgil has deigned to tranſplant into his Æneid, ſeveral lines and even whole paſſages from the poems of this venerable bard, *Plut. in vit. Flam. Corn. Nep. in vit. Caton. Lucret.* i. 113. *Hor. Ep. ad Aug.* x. 50. *Macrob. Saturn.* vi. 1.

(3) The different factions of Sylla and Cinna having, about the year of Rome 666, occaſioned great and dangerous commotions in the republic; Atticus finding, if he continued in Rome, it would be impoſſible, from his family connections, to ſtand neuter, withdrew to Athens; that *nobiliſſimum orbis*

orbis Gymnaſium, as Cicero ſomewhere emphatically calls it, which was filled with ſtudents from every quarter of the civilized world. During his reſidence in that illuſtrious ſeminary of learning and the polite arts, he employed himſelf in cultivating his mind under thoſe great maſters with which that celebrated city ſo eminently abounded.

It does not appear upon what account he received the ſurname of *Atticus*. One of the commentators conjectures, that it took its riſe from his ſpeaking the Greek language, with all the correctneſs and propriety of a native Athenian: perhaps it was given to him as a deſignation of that ſingular elegance and politeneſs, which diſtinguiſhed every part of his accompliſhed character. *Corn. Nep. in vit. At.*

(4) This alludes to the diſordered ſtate of the common-wealth, occaſioned by Julius Cæſar's uſurpation and the commotions conſequent on his death; the preſent and following treatiſe having

ing been written ſoon after he was aſſaſſinated in the ſenate. No man had more at ſtake in theſe public convulſions, than Cicero: and nothing ſets the power of his mind in a more ſtriking point of view, than his being able, at ſuch an alarming criſis, ſufficiently to compoſe his thoughts to meditations of this kind. For not only the two pieces above-mentioned, but his dialogues on the *nature of the Gods*, together with thoſe concerning *divination*, as alſo his book of *offices*, and ſome other of the moſt conſiderable of his philoſophical writings, were drawn up within the ſame turbulent and diſtracted period.

(5) He was contemporary with Zeno, and one of the diſciples of that celebrated founder of the ſtoical ſect. Ariſto publiſhed ſeveral philoſophical treatiſes; by which he acquired the reputation rather of an agreeable and elegant, than of a ſolid and judicious writer. And indeed, if one may be allowed to judge of the merit of his

other performances, by the plan he adopted to convey his ſentiments concerning old-age; it will give no very favourable idea of the manner in which they were conducted. For Tithonus being altogether an imaginary character, which exiſted only in the regions of mythology; his hiſtory appears to have been ill ſuited to the ſubject it was deſigned to illuſtrate; as the only natural moral to be drawn from it, ſeems to have been, that "early riſing "is conducive to long life:" For the legend ſays, that Aurora having fallen in love with Tithonus, made him a preſent of immortality, but had not ſufficient power at the ſame time to ſecure him from the uſual conſequences of longevity. It is evident, therefore, how much the Roman moraliſt had the advantage of the Grecian, in the manner of treating his ſubject. Cicero's hero is a real perſonage, whoſe example and authority cannot but make a ſuitable impreſſion upon the mind of the reader; as there is not a ſingle

ſentiment,

ſentiment, or circumſtance, aſcribed to Cato in the following eſſay, which is not perfectly conſiſtent with his true character, or expreſsly verified by authentic hiſtory.

(6) This celebrated perſon, who takes the lead in the following converſation, is Marcus Porcius Cato, uſually ſtiled the cenſor; from his having adminiſtered that moſt important as well as moſt honourable office in the Roman ſtate, with a ſpirit and integrity that was never equalled perhaps, by any of his ſucceſſors. This extraordinary man poſſeſſed ſuch a variety of powerful talents, and poſſeſſed them too in ſo eminent a degree, that in whatever country he had happened to have been born, ſays the Roman hiſtorian, his abilities muſt neceſſarily have raiſed him to the firſt dignities of the ſtate. In the military department, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf above his contemporaries both as a ſoldier and a general. In the paths of civil life, he appeared

equally conſpicuous: and he was univerſally acknowledged to be the moſt learned lawyer, as well as the moſt eloquent orator, of the age in which he lived. In a word, to whatever art, or ſcience, he applied his mind, he acquired ſo ſuperior a ſkill in it, that it ſeemed as if his genius was formed to ſhine in that particular article of knowledge alone. To theſe wonderful powers of the underſtanding he united many great and amiable qualities of the heart. In private life he was a tender huſband, a kind father, and a moſt exact œconomiſt. In his public character, he was a firm friend to the liberties of his country; which upon all occaſions he ſupported with a courage that no dangers could diſmay, and with an integrity that no temptations could ſeduce. His ſtrength of body was nothing inferior to the vigour of his mind; as he gave many proofs during his military ſervices, of his being able to ſuſtain labour, and forego the moſt importunate demands of thirſt and hunger.

hunger, to a degree which has ſcarcely any parallel in hiſtory: and old-age, which generally breaks the conſtitution, and exhauſts the ſpirits of other men, ſeemed incapable of ſubduing Cato's. Truth, however, requires me to acknowledge, that there are ſpots in this great man's character, which one cannot but regret to diſcover amidſt the brightneſs of thoſe uncommon virtues with which they were ſurrounded. Some inſtances of this kind there will be occaſion to produce, in the courſe of the following remarks. In the mean while, nothing more ſeems neceſſary to be added for the reader's information at preſent, but that he was born in the year of R. 521, or 233 years before the Chriſtian æra, and died between the age of 80 and 90; authors not being agreed in what preciſe year within thoſe two periods his death happened. *Liv.* xxxix. 40. *Plut.* and *Corn. Nep. in vit. Caton.*

(7) *Scipio* was the worthy ſon of the excellent Paulus Æmilius; but being adopted into the family of the firſt Scipio Africanus, he was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Scipio Æmilianus. *Lælius* was a ſon of the famous friend of the firſt Scipio Africanus. A particular account will be given of both in the notes to the Eſſay on Friendſhip, where a more proper occaſion will offer to enter into their characters. At the time when the preſent diſcourſe is ſuppoſed to have paſſed, they were each of them very young men, and had not as yet had any opportunity of diſplaying their virtues and their talents, upon the great ſtage of the world.

(8) To "follow nature," was the great and common principle upon which the whole ſyſtem of ethics turned, as taught by the moſt approved and judicious philoſophers of the different ſects among the antient moraliſts. By *nature* they meant the laws of its divine author as impreſſed in clear and legible characters,

characters, on the physical and moral world. *Quid ènim aliud est Natura*, says Seneca, *quàm Deus & divina ratio toti mundo & partibus ejus inserta.* [De benef. iv. 7.] To "follow nature," therefore was, in the philosophical sense of the precept, to follow the dictates of *reason*, *truth*, or *virtue*: terms of synonimous import, and each of them comprehending the whole extent of man's duty as a rational agent, whose chief and ultimate happiness depends by the *constitution* of his being, on acting up to the highest possible perfection of his moral and intellectual powers. The present treatise is indeed the best and noblest comment upon the maxim under consideration; as it explains and exemplifies the full import of the rule, in the character and conduct of that venerable Roman who is represented as making it the governing principle of his illustrious life. The reader will see the truth of this observation abundantly verified in the progress of Cato's discourse; where the

honourable actions he recites and the juſt ſentiments he diſcovers, are the genuine and proper conſequences of purſuing that great and unerring guide whom he here profeſſes to follow. It was this, in particular, that confirmed him in that animating perſuaſion which invigorated all his virtues, and ſoftened the infirmities of his declining age; the perſuaſion, I mean, which he ſo frequently and ſo ſtrongly expreſſes, that "death is only an entrance into a ſtate of pure and permanent felicity." *Laert. in vit. Zen. Lips. Manud.* xi. 14. *vid. Cic. de fin.* v. 9.

(9) *Salinator* was conſul A. U. 565. *Albinus* A. U. 567. and Cato A. U. 558.

(10) An inconſiderable Greek iſland, famous only for a ſingular ſpecies of frogs, which are ſaid to have been totally mute. *Cellar. geog.*

(11) Quintus

(11) Quintus Fabius Maximus was deſcended from a very illuſtrious family, which had furniſhed the Roman republic, at different periods, with ſome of her moſt approved and diſtinguiſhed patriots. The title *Maximus* was derived to him from one of his anceſtors; but it was a title, however, which he himſelf juſtly merited from the unborrowed luſtre of his own perſonal virtues: *vir certé fuit*, ſays Livy, *dignus tanto cognomine, vel ſi nomen ab eo inciperet.* He was the fifth time advanced to the dignity of conſul in the Y. of R. 545: and it was in that year he recovered, from the garriſon which Hannibal had placed in it, the city of Tarentum. This truly great man, amongſt his other ſingular qualities, tempered the roughneſs of the martial virtues with the mildeſt and moſt gentle deportment; and he gave ſuch early marks of this ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, that when he was a boy he was uſually

ſtiled, by his family and companions, the *lamb*. *Plut. in vit. Fab. Max.*

(12) He was choſen conſul for the firſt time in the Y. of R. 521.

(13) " So long as the Romans pre-
" ſerved their virtue uncorrupted,
" thoſe who poſſeſſed the powers of
" oratory employed their talents in de-
" fence of their clients, without fee or
" reward; as Cicero remarks in his
" treatiſe *de off.* xi. 19. It ſometimes
" happened, however, from a princi-
" ple of gratitude, that little preſents
" were made from the parties to their
" patrons. Theſe in proceſs of time
" came to be demanded as a matter of
" right, and were ſo exceſſive as to be
" more than an equivalent for the ſer-
" vice received. *Cincius*, one of the
" tribunes of the people, in order to
" correct this abuſe, propoſed the law
" here mentioned: and he was ſup-
" ported

"ported in his motion by Fabius "Maximus." *Du Bois in loc.*

(14) In the Y. of R. 536, Fabius Maximus was created dictator. The intent of inveſting him with this high office was, for the more effectual carrying on the war againſt Hanibal, who was gaining great advantages over the Romans at the head of his victorious troops in Italy. Theſe advantages having been owing to the raſh and impetuous conduct of ſome of thoſe generals, who had preceded Fabius in this important command; that judicious commander was induced, both from the general coolneſs of his temper, and from the particular circumſtances of the campaign, to act a more circumſpective part, by prudently avoiding a general engagement. This drew upon him much unjuſt cenſure, not only from his enemies at Rome, but from the ſoldiers of his army; both parties imputing his judicious conduct to a principle of cowardice.

The

The noble anſwer he returned when theſe calumnies were reported to him, well deſerves to be remembered. "I "ſhould be a coward indeed," replied this brave and experienced captain, "if I were to be terrified into a change "of meaſures by groundleſs clamours "and reproaches. That man," added he, "is unfit to be at the head of an "army who is capable of being in-"fluenced by the calumnies, or ca-"price, of thoſe whom he is appointed "to command." *Plut. in vit. Fab. Max.*

(15) He commanded in Tarentum when the troops of Hanibal gained poſſeſſion of the town: upon which he retired to the citadel and gallantly defended it, 'till the city was retaken by Fabius. *Plut. ubi Sap.*

(16) He was tribune in the Y. of R. 525.

(17) Homer

(17) Homer puts a ſentiment of the ſame ſpirited kind into the mouth of Hector. That gallant prince, endeavouring to force the Grecian intrenchments, is exhorted by Polydamas to diſcontinue the attack, on occaſion of an unfavourable omen which appears on the left ſide of the Trojan army. Hector treats both the advice and the adviſer with much contempt; and among other ſentiments equally juſt and animated, nobly replies, (as the lines are finely tranſlated by Mr. Pope.)

Ye vagrants of the ſky! your wings extend,
Or where the ſun's ariſe or where deſcend;
To right, to left, unheeded take your way—

"Without a ſign his ſword the brave man
" draws,
" And aſks no omen but his country's
" cauſe."

Il. xii. 279.

The circumſtance mentioned in the text, juſtifies from the cenſure of M. Dacier a paſſage in Plutarch's life of Fabius

Fabius Maximus; in which, on occaſion of certain prodigies that alarmed the republic, he is repreſented as having little faith in theſe ſuppoſed intimations of impending calamities. This the learned critic ſeems to think is an imputation upon his religious principles, by no means agreeable to his general character. It appears, however, that the Grecian biographer is better ſupported in his aſſertion, than his French tranſlator imagined; who probably would have withdrawn his cenſure, if he had recollected that in the inſtance in queſtion Plutarch could have appealed to the teſtimony of Cicero. Indeed, there would have been no reaſon to doubt the authenticity of the fact, had it reſted ſolely on the credit of Plutarch. For faith in divination, was by no means ſo univerſally an article of the Roman creed, as to be rejected by none but thoſe who maintained irreligious and immoral tenets. Their beſt and greateſt men were much divided in opinion concerning

ing the validity of thoſe principles upon which this pretended ſcience was founded: and although ſome of them ſeriouſly believed and defended the certainty of theſe kinds of predictions; others conſidered the whole art as the impoſition of fraud, or at beſt, of ſtate-policy, on vulgar ſuperſtition and credulity. In the number of the latter, not to mention other great names, was Cato the cenſor; who frequently expreſſed his "aſtoniſhment "how it was poſſible for one Aruſpex "to keep the gravity of his counte-"nance when he met another:" *mirari ſe aiebat quod non rideret Haruſpex Haruſpicem cum videret.* Cic. de divin. xi. 24. Dac. Trad. des vies de Plut. xi. p. 297. not 21.

(18) He was elected conſul with T. Sempronius Gracchus in the Y. of R. 541, immediately after the fourth conſulate of his father.

(19) The

(19) The ſpeech mentioned in the text, was extant in the days of Plutarch, and ſtill read and admired as a perfect model and maſter-piece of Roman eloquence. And no wonder; for Cicero has given it the higheſt encomiums, not only in the preſent paſſage, but in another part of his writings in which he repreſents it as *inſignem ingenii, judicii & ordinis præſtantiâ.* Oratory indeed, was in the number of thoſe arts to which Fabius diligently applied himſelf, as an eſſential qualification in a commonwealth conſtituted like the Roman. His ſtyle was perfectly well adapted to that ſolid and manly ſenſe with which all his ſentiments were impregnated; and is ſaid to have very much reſembled the cloſe and conciſe diction of Thucydides. *Plut. in vit. Fab. Max.*

It was cuſtomary at the funerals of illuſtrious perſons, for the neareſt relation to ſpeak an oration in honour of the deceaſed. This practice, as ſeveral of the Roman writers complain, tend-

ed

ed very much to corrupt the truth of hiſtory; as theſe panegyrics, which frequently imputed virtues and actions to the object of them which never exiſted, were too often reſorted to by hiſtorians as faithful documents and memoirs. *Cic. in Brut. Liv.* viii. 40.

(20) There is no quality in human nature, more rare and uncommon than *conſiſtency*; as there are few, like this excellent Roman, whoſe conduct is all of a piece, and will bear examining in every point of view in which it can be placed. Many, perhaps, of thoſe characters which the world calls *great*, would loſe much of the eſteem and applauſe they acquire while acting under the public inſpection, if they were to be followed into their private ſcenes, and obſerved in their domeſtic hours: for it is with the generality of men, as with pictures; they muſt be placed at a certain diſtance from the ſpectator, in order to be ſeen with advantage. It was well remarked, therefore, by an ingenious

ingenious French writer, *Que les plus grands ennimis des heros etoient leurs valets de chambre.*

(21) It is a proof of the early rectitude of Cato's diſpoſition and judgement, that at his firſt entrance into the world he ſelected from the reſt of his ſhining contemporaries Fabius Maximus, as the principal object of his eſteem and imitation. There is nothing indeed, that tends more to give the mind its proper bias, than the company and converſation of thoſe who have eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the paths of honour and virtue: *Eſt aliquid*, (to expreſs the ſignificant language as well as ſentiment of Seneca,) *quod ex magno viro vel* tacente *proficias.* Man is by nature imitative; and the power of example operates upon him by an inſenſible, but reſiſtleſs, force. In morals, therefore, as well as in the fine arts, whoever would excel muſt have the *works* of the great maſters in view; not indeed as conſtraining guides to be ſervilely followed, but as friendly

ly luminaries that ſerve at once both to enlighten his paths, and to kindle his emulation. It is thus "*the wiſe*," as Homer ſings, and our Britiſh bard repeats the ſong,

The wiſe new wiſdom from the wiſe acquire,
And each brave hero fans another's fire.

Plut. in vit. Fab. M. Sen. Ep. 94.

(22) The author of this law was Q. Voconius Saxo, tribune of the people in the Y. of R. 578. Among other clauſes it enacted, that no perſon whoſe eſtate was rated in the cenſor's roll at a certain ſpecified ſum, ſhould leave by will more than a fourth part of his poſſeſſions to a woman. The prohibition of this law ſeems to have been deſigned to guard againſt the too frequent effect of female influence, by ſecuring to the heir, at all events, a ſufficient part of the family-eſtate to ſupport his rank and ſtation. Aulus Gellius has preſerved a remarkable paſſage from the ſpeech which Cato made

made upon this occaſion, not much to the credit of the Roman matrons. The venerable orator obſerved, that "married women frequently reſerved "theſe teſtamentary devices as a ſe-"parate eſtate for their own uſe; and "that the huſband's affairs ſometimes "obliged him to have recourſe to it "by way of loan: but upon ſuch oc-"caſions, if any diſſention afterwards "happened between them, the wife "was generally found to be the moſt "troubleſome and importunate of his "creditors." *Frien's ſup. in Liv.* xli. *Aul. Gel.* xvii. 6.

(23) Cato's ſon was married to Tertia, one of the daughters of Paulus Æmilius.

(24) The celebrated perſons here mentioned, flouriſhed together in the ſame period: as they were, each of them, equally diſtinguiſhed for thoſe patriotic virtues, and that ſimplicity of manners, for which the Romans in the earlier

earlier ages of their republic, have ſo juſt a claim to our admiration. They reſpectively exerciſed the conſular dignity during the war with Pyrrhus: which commenced in the Y. of R. 474. and continued 'till the year 480, when Pyrrhus, being totally defeated by the conduct and courage of Curius, was conſtrained to abandon Italy. *Plut. in vit. Pyrrh. Blair's chron.*

(25) Pyrrhus, in the ſecond Y. of his invaſion of Italy, being diſpoſed to compromiſe matters with the Romans, diſpatched Cineas to Rome in order to negociate a peace with the ſenate. The ambaſſador having laid the terms of his commiſſion before that auguſt aſſembly, ſeveral of the members appeared inclined to accept the king's propoſals. Appius Claudius, who on account of his great age and the loſs of his ſight had long retired from all public buſineſs, being informed of the diſpoſition in which ſeveral of the ſenators ſtood, immediately cauſed himſelf to be carried

ried by his domeſtics to the ſenate houſe; where he oppoſed the treaty in queſtion with ſuch force of reaſon and eloquence, as prevailed with the majority of the members to reject the king's overtures. *Plut. in vit. Pyrr. Cic. in Brut.* 14.

(26) The ſecond Punic war, under the glorious conduct of the firſt Scipio Africanus, terminated ſo much to the advantage of the Romans, that by the treaty of peace concluded in the Y. of R. 553, the Carthaginians were conſtrained to ſubmit to the ſevere condition of ſurrendering their whole fleet, beſides paying them a very conſiderable ſum of money, towards re-imburſing the expence of their armaments. Nevertheleſs, in about half a century afterwards, the Carthaginians had ſo far recovered their former ſtrength, as to be ſtill a very formidable power. For this reaſon, Cato never ceaſed to urge the neceſſity of utterly extinguiſhing this rival-ſtate: and as often as he had occaſion to deliver his opinion in the

the ſenate, he conſtantly (whatever ſubject the debate happened to turn upon) concluded his ſpeech with *delenda eſt carthago*. His advice at length prevailed; and in the Y. of R. 605, war was accordingly declared. But he had not the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his wiſhes perfectly gratified; for he died ſoon after its commencement. The ſecond Scipio Africanus, who very early in that war diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſuperior courage and martial abilities, was in the courſe of it advanced to the chief command: and, agreeably to Cato's wiſhes, he had the glory to finiſh it in the Y. of R. 608, by ſo complete a victory as to level Carthage with the ground, never to riſe more. *Cic. de off. Plut. in vit. Caton. Blair's chron.*

(27) There is no character that has been celebrated with warmer encomium, both by antient and modern hiſtorians, than that of the firſt Scipio Africanus; as there ſeems to have been none

none that could better juſtify the moſt glowing colours of panegyric.

His military talents, altho' in no reſpect excelled by any of the moſt famous captains in Roman, or Grecian, annals, were by no means ſuperior to the more amiable virtues of his heart: and it was by the qualities of the latter that he gained, in the eſtimation of every true judge of merit, more real glory than the moſt ſplendid victories could confer. The generous manner in which he treated the conquered nations, by reſtoring his priſoners, without ranſom, to their relations, and by many other uncommon inſtances of the moſt enlarged and liberal ſpirit, gained over almoſt as many ſtates to the intereſt of the republic, as he ſubdued by his invincible arms. Indeed, his whole conduct and deportment was ſingularly calculated to captivate the general affection and eſteem of all with whom he had any negotiations; as he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree that *artem ſibi conciliandi homines*, which Hanibal

Hanibal is ſaid to have ſo much admired in Pyrrhus.

This illuſtrious Roman was no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his humanity; and he was frequently heard to declare, that he "had rather ſave the life of a ſingle "ſoldier, than deſtroy a thouſand ene-"mies." Scipio was equally conſpicuous for a moſt refined and delicate ſenſe of juſtice; of which he gave very ſtriking proofs, upon occaſions where the conduct of the enemy and the accuſtomed rights of war, might have excuſed a leſs ſcrupulous exertion of that glorious principle. But if there is any one among the many ſhining virtues that adorned his character, which peculiarly demand admiration, it is the ſingular proof he gave that in the gayeſt ſeaſon of youth, and amidſt the warmeſt exultations of conqueſt, he was ſtill maſter of himſelf and ſuperior to the tender and moſt prevailing ſeductions of the heart. The remarkable inſtance alluded to, cannot but be too well known to every Engliſh

reader, to render it neceſſary to be here repeated; as it is related by Sir Richard Steel in one of his Tatlers, with all that grace and elegance of narration which was the diſtinguiſhing talent of that celebrated writer. But there is a curious circumſtance concerning this famous tranſaction, which is not ſo generally known, and may therefore be particularly mentioned. The young nobleman whoſe heart was engaged to Scipio's fair priſoner, as a pledge of the grateful ſenſe he entertained of the Roman general's magnanimous conduct upon this occaſion, preſented him with a ſilver ſhield, on which this Spaniſh prince was repreſented as receiving from the hands of Scipio the beautiful captive to whom he was affianced. This ſhield, by a moſt extraordinary accident, was, in the latter end of the laſt century, found at the bottom of the Rhone: and it is now preſerved in the king of France's cabinet of medals.

To

To crown all, this illuſtrious Roman was impreſſed with a ſtrong ſenſe of religious duties, and a firm belief of a ſuperintending providence. In conſequence of theſe ſentiments, he never entered upon any important buſineſs either of a public, or private nature, without retiring to the capitol and imploring the aſſiſtance of the divinity, to whoſe honour that temple was conſecrated. It muſt be acknowledged however, that he ſeems to have mixed ſome degree of policy with theſe his public acts of devotion; and to have endeavoured to raiſe an opinion in the people, that he received unuſual communications of the divine favour.

The important ſervices he had rendered his country, in conjunction with thoſe eminent private virtues which he had upon every occaſion diſplayed; ſeem to have given him ſuch an aſcendency in the ſtate, as to have raiſed in ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed patriots of that age, a ſtrong jealouſy of his credit and power That this jealouſy

was wholly without foundation, cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed; as Fabius Maximus, together with Cato, and Gracchus the father of the two famous tribunes of that name, were in the party of thoſe who united to mortify his ambition and reſtrain his too extenſive influence. To that end a proſecution was commenced againſt him: and the part he acted under this circumſtance, ſeems to have been the only exceptionable article of his public conduct. For inſtead of vindicating his character from the charges of the impeachment, he treated the accuſation with the utmoſt diſdain; and refuſing to comply with the ſummons for his appearance, withdrew to his villa at Liternum. This probably anſwered all the purpoſes which thoſe who were the moſt moderate among his enemies, had in view by the proſecution; as it removed him, by a ſort of voluntary exile, to a ſufficient diſtance from Rome to render his power no longer an object of danger, or alarm. In this retire-

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ment he ſpent the remainder of his days, amuſing himſelf in the cultivation of his farms, and without diſcovering the leaſt regret at being excluded from a ſcene, in which he had figured with ſo much honour to himſelf, and advantage to his country.

It may be thought, perhaps, that the warm eſteem which Cato expreſſes in the paſſage that ſuggeſted the foregoing remark, is inconſiſtent with his having been in the number of thoſe jealous guardians of the Roman conſtitution, who took umbrage at Scipio's power; as indeed he conſtantly oppoſed its progreſs in all its gradual advances. It is by no means improbable, however, that Cato's opinion of Scipio, was perfectly agreeable to the repreſentation of it in the paſſage under conſideration: for he was too ſincere a lover of virtue, it ſhould ſeem, not to admire and acknowledge the general merit of this great man's character, tho' in a political view of it, he might ſee conſequences unfavourable to that

ſpirit of equality ſo eſſential to a republican form of government. It muſt be confeſſed at the ſame time, that it will not readily be admitted that ſentiments of this generous kind can be ſuppoſed to prevail among the oppoſite leaders of contending parties: it is certain, however, that they actually *did* prevail in one, at leaſt, of Scipio's declared adverſaries; I mean Gracchus. For when on Scipio's refuſing to yield obedience to the citation mentioned above, it was propoſed to ſend the proper officers to force him to appear; Gracchus interpoſed his negative. He added, that his collegues ought to be ſatisfied with the excuſe of indiſpoſition which Scipio's brother had alledged for his non-appearance; and that in conſideration of his perſonal merit and the public ſervices he had performed, his houſe ought to be reſpected as ſacred from all violation. *Liv.* xxxviii. 52, 3. *Tatler* ii. p. 40. *Memor. de l'Acad. des Inſcrip.* i. 182.

Sen.

Sen. ep. 85. *Corn. Nep. in vit. Caton.*

(28) Altho' Cicero ſpeaks very poſitively as to the year in which Scipio died; yet Livy found ſo great a diſagreement among the hiſtorians in relation to the date of this event, that he declares himſelf unable to aſcertain the time. The general conjecture however is, that he died about the 57th year of his age. *Liv.* xxxviii. 56. *vid. Pigh. Annal. ſub an.* 568.

(29) So called from the Latin word *ſenex*. The members of this auguſt aſſembly were originally diſtinguiſhed by the title of fathers, *vel ætate*, ſays Salluſt, *vel curæ ſimilitudine*. Ovid has ſome pretty lines in alluſion to the ſame etymology:

Magna fuit capitis quondam reverentia cani,
Inque ſuo pretio ruga ſenilis erat.
Nec niſi poſt annos patuit tunc curia ſeros,
Nomen et ætatis mite ſenatus habet.

Iura dubat Populo ſenior, finitaque certis
Legibus eſt ætas unde petatur honor.

Time was when rev'rend years obſervance found,
And ſilver hairs with honour's meed was crown'd.
In thoſe good days the venerably old,
In Rome's ſage ſynod ſtood alone enroll'd:
Experienc'd eld ſhe gave her laws to frame,
And from her *ſeniors* roſe the *ſenate's* name.

It appears, therefore, that according to the rules of its primary inſtitution, and during the regular times of the republic, young men were excluded (and ſurely upon principles of the ſoundeſt policy) from a ſeat in this great council of the empire: but the preciſe age required for admiſſion, is not with certainty known. Lycurgus, when he inſtituted the ſupreme council in Sparta, carried the qualification with reſpect to years ſomewhat too far, perhaps; as he ordained that no man ſhould be admitted a candidate for that great truſt before he had completed the age

age of ſixty. The moral qualifications which Cicero, in his book of laws, requires of the members of the Roman ſenate, might furniſh a proper inſcription over the entrance to every other public council of the ſame nature and importance: IS ORDO VITIO CARETO; CÆTERIS SPECIMEN ESTO. In the opinion of the Roman legiſlator, if this great ſpring-head of national morals were preſerved pure and unpolluted, every other civil and political benefit would flow to the ſtate, as from its natural and proper ſource: or to expreſs it in Cicero's emphatical language, "*Quod ſi* eſt "*tenemus* omnia." *Salluſt. Bel. Cat.* 6. *Plut. in vit. Lycurg. Ovid. Faſt.* v. *Cic. de leg.* iii.

(30) Nævius was among the earlieſt of the Roman dramatic poets. Having in ſome of his writings given offence to a conſiderable family in Rome, he was driven into exile, and died at Utica in Africa in the Y. of R. 551.

The following epitaph which he compoſed for himſelf, is perhaps one of the moſt extraordinary inſtances of a poet's vanity to be met with in the annals of Parnaſſus:

Mortalis immortalis flere ſi foret fas,
Flerent divæ camænæ Nævium Poetam,
Itaque poſtquam eſt Orcino traditus Theſauro,
Oblitei ſunt Romæ loquier Latina lingua.

If Gods the fate of mortals might deplore,
Each muſe would weep that Nævius is no more:
All grace of diction with the bard is flown,
And Rome's ſweet language is in Rome unknown.

Ennius is accuſed of having either borrowed, or ſtolen, much from the writings of Nævius: *qui a Nævio vel ſumſiſti multa*, ſays Cicero, *ſi fateris; vel ſi negas, ſurripuiſti.* But if he did, he took no greater freedoms with his predeceſſor's property, than was taken with his own by a ſucceeding poet:

ſee

ſee note 2. *Aul. Gel.* i. 24. *Cic. in Brut.* 19.

(31) It was a prevailing ſuperſtition among the Romans, it ſeems, that to read the inſcriptions on the monuments of the dead, weakened the memory. Of this very ſingular and unaccountable notion, no other trace, I believe, is to be found among the Roman authors but what appears in the preſent paſſage.

(32) Hiſtory has not recorded how long either Heſiod, or Homer, lived. Socrates was cut off by a moſt cruel and unjuſt ſentence in his 70th year. And as to the reſt of the ſeveral poets and philoſphers here mentioned; Plato, who died the youngeſt of them lived to eighty-one; Democritus to above an hundred; and each of the others to near ninety. Mr. Addiſon in one of his Spectators recommending the virtue of temperance, makes a remark extremely applicable to the preſent paſſage:

paſſage: "And here," ſays that admirable author, "I cannot but mention "an obſervation which I have often "made upon reading the lives of the "philoſophers, and comparing them "with any ſeries of kings, or great "men of the ſame number. If we "conſider theſe antient ſages, a great "part of whoſe philoſophy conſiſted "in a temperate and abſtemious courſe "of life; one would think the life of "a philoſopher, and the life of a "man where of two different dates. "For we find that the generality of "theſe wiſe men were nearer an "hundred than ſixty years of age at "the time of their reſpective deaths." He adds, that "it is obſerved by two, "or three antient authors, that So-"crates, notwithſtanding he lived in "Athens during the great plague— "which has been celebrated at differ-"ent times by ſuch eminent hands "—never caught the leaſt infection: "which thoſe writers unanimouſly "aſcribe to that uninterrupted tem-

"perance

" perance which he always obſerved. *Spect.* No. 195.

(33) Solon was a poet, as well as a legiſlator. In the earlier part of his life, he ſeems to have devoted his muſe to the tender paſſion; but as more ſober years advanced, his compoſitions took a graver turn: and it may be ſaid of this famous law-giver, what our ethic poet ſays of himſelf,

That not in fancy's maze he wander'd long,
But ſtoop'd to truth, and moraliz'd his ſong.

Accordingly, he not only publiſhed ſeveral didactic and political poems, but alſo drew up a ſyſtem of his laws in metre. The declaration cited in the text from one of his poems, is unqueſtionably a very ſtrong proof of the rectitude of Solon's underſtanding: one cannot, therefore, without ſurprize find it cenſured in Plato's book of laws. For "the moſt knowing man in the " courſe of the longeſt life," as a noble

ble writer has well remarked, "will "always have much to learn; and the "wiſeſt and beſt, much to improve." The truth is, the human mind is never *ſtationary:* when it is not progreſſive, it is neceſſarily retrograde. He who imagines, at any period of his life, that he can advance no farther in moral, or intellectual improvements, is as little acquainted with the extent of his own powers, as the antient voyager was with that of the terreſtrial globe, who ſuppoſed he had erected pillars at the end of the world, when he had only left a monument how much farther he might have proceeded. *Plat. in vit. Solon. Boling. Let. on Hiſt.* i. 146.

(34) Lord Bacon humorouſly remarks, that "Cato's learning Greek "in his old-age, was a judgment upon "him for his blaſphemy;" alluding to his having in a former part of his life expreſſed great contempt of the Greek philoſophy. He had ventured indeed to prophecy the ruin of the conſtitution,

tion, whenever that ſort of learning ſhould become the faſhionable ſtudy in Rome: and it muſt be owned, he did not take offence altogether without reaſon. He had conceived a very unfavourable opinion of its tendency, when the Athenians, in the Y. of R. 599, ſent three of their principal philoſophers on an embaſſy to the republic. At the head of theſe was *Carneades*; a very celebrated leader of the Academic ſect. While he was waiting for an anſwer from the ſenate, he employed himſelf in diſplaying his talents in the art of diſputation: and the Roman youth flocked round him in great numbers. In one of theſe public diſcourſes he attempted to prove, that "juſtice, "and injuſtice, depends altogether on "the inſtitutions of civil ſociety, and "has no ſort of foundation in nature." The next day, agreeably to the manner of that ſect, and in order to ſet the arguments on each ſide of the queſtion in full view, he ſupported with equal eloquence the reverſe of his former propoſition.

poſition. Cato was preſent at both theſe diſſertations, and being apprehenſive that the moral principles of the Roman youth might be ſhaken, if they ſhould become converts to this indeciſive mode of philoſophizing, he was anxious to prevent its reception: and he did not reſt 'till he had prevailed with the ſenate to diſmiſs theſe ambaſſadors with their final anſwer. *Bacon's adv. of Learn*, xiii. 1. *Plut. in vit. Caton. M. Plin. H. N.* vii. 30. *Quint. Inſt.* v. 1.

(35) To thoſe who form their notion of propriety altogether from modern cuſtoms and manners, the circumſtance here mentioned concerning Socrates, may ſeem to derogate from the gravity and wiſdom of his character. An old philoſopher taking a leſſon from his muſic-maſter, is an attitude in which a ſage of the preſent times would not chooſe to appear. But it was much otherwiſe in antient Greece, where muſic was conſidered not only as an accompliſhment,

compliſhment, but as an eſſential part of manly education, and no leſs favourable to the purpoſes of the philoſopher and the ſtates-man, than to thoſe of the poet. Accordingly Themiſtocles having declined at a public entertainment to touch the lyre; his refuſal was looked upon as a mark of his being deficient in a material article of liberal education. Inſtances indeed of the happy effects of muſic in moral, political, and even medical application, occur in the Greek and Latin writers. The great Roman critic in particular, mentions a very remarkable proof of its beneficial influence on the paſſions. Pythagoras being at an entertainment where ſome young men had too freely indulged themſelves in wine, overheard them conſulting meaſures for ſallying forth in order to violate the chaſtity of a certain maiden, belonging to a reſpectable family in the neighbourhood. The philoſopher immediately ordered the minſtrels to change the ſprightly air they were then playing,

ing, to a certain piece of muſic compoſed in ſolemn ſpondaic meaſures. The tranſition operated in the manner Pythagoras intended: it wrought ſuch an immediate change in thoſe inflamed youths, that reaſon reſumed its ſeat; and they inſtantly renounced the wicked outrage they had juſt before determined to perpetrate. It muſt be acknowledged, that this and other remarkable inſtances of the power which the great maſters of muſic among the antient Grecians, are ſaid to have maintained over the paſſions, have been queſtioned by ſome modern writers of conſiderable note, particularly by Dr. Wallis. But a late ingenious author, whoſe diſtinguiſhed taſte, judgment, and learning in various branches of uſeful ſcience and polite literature, were but the leaſt valuable excellencies of his reſpectable character, has refuted the objections which have been made to the credibility of theſe accounts, with great ſtrength of argument; and has vindicated the teſtimonies of Plato

and

and Ariſtotle, who are the principle evidences of the fact in queſtion, in ſo ſatisfactory a manner, as not to leave the leaſt reaſonable doubt concerning the wonderful effects aſcribed to antient muſic. *See Stillingfleet's power & princip. of harm. p.* 128 *et ſeq. Tuſc. diſp.* i. 2. *Quint.* i. 10.

Even in modern ſtory, inſtances ſometimes occur of the amazing change that has been wrought on the paſſions by the power of muſic. A remarkable relation of this kind is in Prince Cantimir's hiſtory of the Turks, as the paſſage is cited in a tranſlation of a late ingenious French traveller's voyage into Greece: "Sultan Amurath, that "cruel prince, having laid ſiege to "Bagdad and taken it, gave orders for "putting 30,000 Perſians to death, "notwithſtanding they ſubmitted and "laid down their arms. Among the "number of theſe unfortunate vic-"tims, was a muſician. He beſought "the officer who had the command to "ſee the ſultan's orders executed, to

"ſpare,

" ſpare him but for a moment while
" he might be permitted to ſpeak to
" the emperor. The officer indulged
" him in his intreaty; and being
" brought before the ſultan, he was
" permitted to exhibit a ſpecimen of
" his art. Like the muſician in Ho-
" mer, he took up a kind of pſaltry
" which reſembles a lyre, and has ſix
" ſtrings on each ſide; and accom-
" panied it with his voice. He ſung
" the *taking of Bagdad and the triumph*
" *of Amurath*. The pathetic tones
" and exulting ſounds which he drew
" from the inſtrument, joined to the
" alternate plaintiveneſs and boldneſs
" of his ſtrains, rendered the prince
" unable to reſtrain the ſofter emoti-
" ons of his ſoul. He even ſuffered
" him to proceed, until, overpowered
" with harmony, he melted into tears
" of pity and relented of his cruel
" intention. In conſideration of the
" muſician's abilities, he not only di-
" rected his people to ſpare thoſe
" among the priſoners who yet re-
" mained

" mained alive, but alſo to give them " inſtant liberty." *Guy's let. on Greece.* iii. 85.

(37) Some account has already been given of Coruncanius. See note 24. To his great abilities as a ſoldier he united the talents of a conſummate lawyer: and his opinion was held in ſuch eſteem, as to be deciſive in all caſes that concerned the theological and civil juriſprudence of his country. He was the firſt inſtance of a perſon of Plebeian rank being raiſed to the dignity of Pontifex Maximus.

Sextus Ælius and *Publius Craſſus*, were equally eminent for their ſuperior knowledge in the laws of their country. Each of theſe illuſtrious perſons when arrived at a time of life in which he was no longer capable of exerting his abilities in the more active ſcenes of public affairs, ſtill rendered himſelf uſeful to his fellow citizens by his counſels and advice. For this laudable purpoſe they reſpectively continued

to

to frequent the forum; where they were daily acceſſible to all who deſired to conſult them, not only on matters of law, but upon every other article of private or public concern, in which their knowlege and experience could render them ſerviceable. *Liv. Epit.* xviii. *Cic. de Orat.* iii. 33.

(38) This venerable Roman acquired great reputation in his earlier years by a ſignal victory which he gained, during the firſt Carthaginian war, over Aſdrubal, in Sicily: for which he was honoured with a triumph. Some years afterwards being *Pontifex Maximus*, he rendered himſelf no leſs famous by a remarkable inſtance of patriotic piety: for a terrible fire having broken out in Rome, which threatened deſtruction to the temple of Veſta in which the ſacred palladium was enſhrined; he boldly reſcued it from the flames at the imminent hazard of his life, and with the actual loſs of both his eyes. As a public mark of diſtinction for this heroic

heroic act of piety, and in consideration of the fatal consequence which he suffered by it; he was allowed the privilege, whenever he attended the business of the senate, of being conveyed in a car: a privilege, which never was granted to any other Roman. In the Y. 522, the consuls being absent from Rome on an expedition against the Gauls; it became necessary to create a dictator to preside at the general assemblies of the people for electing the annual magistrates: and Metellus, although he was then far advanced in years, as well as totally bereaved of sight, still maintained so much credit and authority in the republic, as to be unanimously appointed to that supreme dignity. *Liv. Epit.* xix. *Plin. H. N.* vii. 43. *Pigh. an.* ii. 121.

(39) Iliad i. Pope's transl. A different mode of the same mild, but persuasive species of eloquence, is so happily exemplified in another of Homer's heroes, and so beautifully copied by his inimitable

inimitable tranſlator, that the Engliſh reader cannot regret being turned a little out of his way, in order to have the pleaſure of reviewing a fine paſſage which he has probably before admired. It is in the third iliad, where Ulyſſes is repreſented as riſing up to deliver his ſentiments, with ſuch an unpromiſing diffidence and confuſion in his air and countenance, as made no favourable impreſſion on the audience:—

But when he ſpeaks, what elocution flows!
Soft as the fleeces of deſcending ſnows,
The copious accents fall with eaſy art;
Melting they fall, and ſink into the heart.

(40) Agamemnon having called a general council, in order to conſider whether it would be moſt adviſable to raiſe the ſiege and return to Greece; ſeveral ſpeeches are made upon the occaſion, and Neſtor's cloſes the debate:

To him the king———
O! would the Gods, in love to Greece, decree
But ten ſuch ſages as they grant in thee!
Such wiſdom ſoon ſhould Priam's force deſtroy,
And ſoon ſhould fall the haughty towers of Troy.
Il. ii. 440. *Pope's tranſ.*

(41) The military tribunes were officers whoſe buſineſs was, to decide all controverſies that aroſe in the army; to give the word to the watch; to ſuperintend the works, &c. In the war between the republic of Rome, and Antiochus king of Syria, (which broke out in the Y. of R. 562.) M. Acilius Glabrio, who commanded the army in Greece, detached Cato with a conſiderable body of troops to diſlodge a part of the king's forces, which had taken poſſeſſion of the ſtreights of Thermopylæ: and Cato executed the commiſſion with great advantage to his military reputation. Theſe ſtreights were before rendered famous in ſtory, by the celebrated Leonidas, who with

three hundred Spartans withſtood, during three whole days, the troops of Xerxes conſiſting of a million of men. *Plut. in vit. Caton.*

(42) "Maſſiniſſa was king of Numidia, and once a declared enemy of the Roman common-wealth: but he was gained over to their alliance, by the generous treatment of the firſt Scipio Africanus; who, having taken two of his nephews priſoners of war, ſent them back to him without a ranſom. From that time Maſſiniſſa always acted with great fidelity to the republic, and retained a particular friendſhip for Scipio, under whoſe roof he lodged when he viſited Rome." *Du Bois in loc.* The relation between the hoſt and the gueſt was held by the antients, both Romans and Greeks, in the number of the moſt ſacred connections. It aroſe from the general cuſtom of receiving ſtrangers when upon their travels: "a cuſtom ſo univerſally eſta-

"bliſhed,

" bliſhed, that they were ſcarce ever " reduced to the neceſſity of taking " up their lodgings at an inn." *Tull. de off.* ii. 18.

(43) This perſon, whoſe name was *Cneius Scipio*, is ſcarce ever mentioned by any other deſignation than " the " ſon of the firſt Scipio Africanus;" no antient author except Valerius Maximus, if I miſtake not, having ſpoken of him by his proper appellation. It was his fortune, indeed, to be more known by the honour he derived from his birth, than by any other diſtinguiſhing circumſtance of his life: but it was the weakneſs of his conſtitution, not any defect of abilities, that prevented him from acting a conſpicuous part on the public ſtage of the world. Cicero in the treatiſe inſcribed Brutus, ſpeaks of him as one who would have figured among the celebrated orators of the age in which he lived, if the exertion of his talents had not been greatly reſtrained by the ill ſtate of

health under which he perpetually laboured. He had given an advantageous ſpecimen of his genius in this way, by ſome publications which were well received; particularly a portion of the Grecian hiſtory, written with peculiar elegance of expreſſion, and with that powerful harmony of periods which was ſo much ſtudied by the great maſters of eloquent compoſition among the antients. In the war with Antiochus, king of Syria, he was taken priſoner: but that prince returned him to his father, by thoſe ambaſſadors whom he ſent to Scipio with propoſals of peace. Valerius Maximus repreſents his ſuffering himſelf to fall into the hands of the enemy, as a circumſtance of the higheſt diſgrace: and produces this inſtance among others, of perſons who have ſhamefully degenerated from the ſpirit of their anceſtors. But the cenſure ſeems to be uncandid: for the ſame fact is recorded by every one of the antient hiſtorians, without the leaſt intimation of its having been conſi-

dered

dered by his contemporaries as a ſtain upon his character. *Cic. de clar. Orat.* xix. *Val. Max.* iii. 5. *Liv. Hiſt.* xxxviii. 37. *Appian. de bel. ſyr.* 106.

(44) The hiſtorical tracts here mentioned, conſiſted of ſeveral pieces relating to the hiſtory and antiquities of Rome, particularly the firſt and ſecond Carthaginian wars, together with an account of the principal cities of Italy. The whole was drawn up, not only with great accuracy and knowledge of the ſubject, but with ſingular grace and elegance of expreſſion. *Quem florem*, ſays Cicero, ſpeaking of this work in another part of his writings, *aut quod lumen eloquentiæ non habent?* The ſpeeches he collected and publiſhed amounted to about 150; in which, as we are aſſured by one of the greateſt maſters of eloquence that Rome ever produced, Cato diſplayed all the powers of a conſummate orator. Accordingly, he was ſtiled by his contemporaries the "Roman Demoſthenes;"

as he is frequently mentioned by the ſubſequent writers, under the deſignation of Cato the *orator*. It ſhould ſeem indeed that there are ſtill extant ſome very ſtriking proofs of this venerable patriot's rhetorical abilities; as it is highly improbable that Livy, in thoſe ſpeeches he has inſerted in his hiſtory as delivered by Cato, ſhould have had recourſe to invention, when the originals were publiſhed and in every body's hands. Nor are his productions upon the ſubject of law intirely loſt; if it be true, as ſome civilians ſuppoſe, that he is the author of the *regula catoniana* treated of in the ſeventh title of the 4th book of the digeſt. *Corn. Nep. in vit. Caton. Cic. in Brut.* 17. *Plut. in vit. Caton.*

(45) It was not in order to exerciſe and improve the memory, that Pythagoras injoined his diſciples the practice of this nightly recollection: it was for a much more uſeful and important purpoſe. The object of the philoſopher's

pher's precept, is indeed wholly of a moral nature; as appears from that noble ſummary of his ethics ſuppoſed to be drawn up by one of his diſciples, and known by the name of the *golden verſes of Pythagoras:*

Μηδ' ὑπνον μαλακοισι επ' ομμασι, &c.

Nightly forbear to cloſe thine eyes to reſt,
Ere thou has queſtion'd well thy conſcious breaſt
What ſacred duty thou haſt left undone?
What act committed which thou ought'ſt to ſhun?
And as fair truth, or error, marks the deed,
Let ſweet applauſe, or ſharp reproach, ſucceed.
So ſhall thy ſteps, while this great rule is thine,
Undevious tread in virtue's paths divine.

It is not a little ſurpriſing that Cicero ſhould have conſidered this great precept, merely in its *mechanical* operation upon one of the faculties of the human mind, and have paſſed over unnoticed its more important intent and efficacy; eſpecially as he had ſo fair an occaſion of pointing out its nobler purpoſe. Horace has applied it to its proper uſe;

and, with his uſual addreſs, has indirectly recommended it to his reader's practice, by exemplifying the benefit of it in his own:

———*Neque enim cum lectulus—me*
——*Excepit*, deſum *mihi*: "*Rectius hoc eſt*;"
"*Hoc faciens vivam melius*; ſic *dulcis amicis*"
"*Occurram*; Hoc quidam *non belle*:
"*numquid ego illi.*"
"*Imprudens olim faciam ſimile?*" *Hæc ego mecum*
Compreſſis agito labris.

Perhaps, there never was a rule of conduct delivered by any uninſpired moraliſt, which hath ſo powerful a tendency to promote the intereſts of virtue as the preſent precept. It is ſcarcely poſſible that the man who every night he lays his head on his pillow, reviews his actions of the day paſt, and fairly brings them to the tribunal of his conſcience, ſhould not riſe the next morning with ſtronger impreſſions of his ſocial and religious duties, and with a more guarded attention to avoid thoſe moral

moral deviations he had ſo ſeverely arraigned.

(46) Cato ſtood ſo high in the eſteem of his country, by the repeated and unqueſtionable proofs he had given of his ſuperior wiſdom and integrity, that in all occurrences of difficulty, or danger, the public looked up to this honeſt and ſagacious patriot, as to an experienced pilot, by whoſe judgment and advice the ſtate-helm might moſt ſecurely be ſteered. In conſequence of this juſt and general opinion of his probity and abilities, it was uſual, if any queſtion of importance happened to come before the ſenate in his abſence, to adjourn the debate 'till they could receive the benefit of his counſel and aſſiſtance. *Plut. in vit. Catan.*

(47) Archytas was greatly diſtinguiſhed in his generation, as a ſoldier, a ſtate's-man, and a philoſopher: characters which, although by no means incompatible, are rarely found united

but in antient ſtory. In his *martial* capacity, his fortune ſeems to have been at leaſt equal to his genius; for tho' he had frequently commanded in the day of action, he never but once loſt a battle. As a *ſtate's-man*, he was held in ſuch high eſteem, that he was ſeven times raiſed to the chief magiſtracy of Tarentum, notwithſtanding an expreſs law of the common-wealth by which no man was capable of being elected a ſecond time into that office. As a *philoſopher*, he was ranked among the moſt famous of the Pythagoric ſect; and had ſtudied under the celebrated founder of that diſtinguiſhed ſchool. The branches of ſcience in which, beſides ethics, he principally excelled, were aſtrology, geometry, and mechanics. This great man, who flouriſhed in the fourth century from the foundation of Rome, added to the other advantages which diſtinguiſhed his character, the happineſs and the honour of being the friend of Plato.

It

It is ſuppoſed that he periſhed by ſhip-wreck: a ſuppoſition founded on an ode of Horace, in which Archytas is introduced as imploring the rites of ſepulture from a certain merchant, who in the courſe of one of his commercial voyages, happened to approach the ſhore where the body of Archytas lay unburied. It ſeems, however, by no means clear, that the perſon who gave occaſion to this ode, is the famous Archytas of Tarentum. It is indeed highly improbable, that the poet ſhould ſend his muſe into ſo remote a period as three hundred years from his own times, in queſt of a ſubject unintereſting to the age in which he wrote, and from which the only apparent inference to be drawn, is a very trite and common moral. If this ode, therefore, really relates to the ſame Archytas who is the principal object of the preſent remark; it ſeems reaſonable to believe, that it is much mutilated, and that thoſe verſes which marked its application to ſome recent circumſtance

of

of the times have been loſt. And what ſtrengthens this conjecture is, that it is the only compoſition in the writings of this admirable lyriſt, that does not either directly, or obliquely, point at ſome preſent, or late occaſion. But be this as the critics may determine; it is at leaſt indiſputable, that the ode in queſtion has furniſhed the pathetic Prior with hints for one of the moſt elegant and affecting elegies that ever appeared in the Engliſh language. *Diog. Laert. in vit. Archy. Hor. Od.* i. 28. *Prior's Ode to the mem. of Col. G. Villiers.*

(48) In the Y. of R. 432, the two conſuls here mentioned marching at the head of the Roman army in order to attack the Samnites, fell into an ambuſcade which had been moſt artfully laid for them by Caius Pontius, who commanded the enemy's troops. The Roman forces not being able either to advance or to retreat, were compelled to deliver up their arms and ſubmit to ſuch

ſuch other ignominious terms as were impoſed by the victors. *Liv.* ix. 1.

(49) The office of cenſor was the higheſt honour, to which the ambition of a Roman citizen could aſpire. Beſides other great powers annexed to this magiſtracy, it gave a right to inquire into the private life, and moral conduct, of every Roman. Even the ſenate was no ſanctuary againſt its juriſdiction: and a cenſor had the power to expel a member from that aſſembly, who upon any occaſion had acted a part unworthy of his rank and character. Cato was candidate for this poſt in the Y. of R. 568; and he ſucceeded, notwithſtanding the principal part of the nobility ſtrained every nerve to prevent his election. They had reaſon indeed to dread his being choſen: for he entered upon the office with an honeſt and inflexible reſolution of exerciſing its functions agreeably to the important ends for which it was inſtituted. Accordingly, he exerted the cenſorial powers

powers with much advantage to the common-wealth; as he pointed the whole force of his authority againſt that luxury and licentiouſneſs, which were now beginning to make thoſe firſt vigorous ſhoots, that in the ſubſequent ages univerſally over-run, and at length, by ruining the virtue, deſtroyed the liberty, of the republic. The ſingular ſpirit and integrity with which he adminiſtered this high employment, did not paſs without ſuitable marks of public approbation: and he was honoured, by a general vote at the expiration of his office, with a ſtatue and inſcription, which was ordered to be erected in the temple of the goddeſs *Salus*.

The infamous tranſaction which called forth his cenſorial chaſtiſement on the perſon mentioned in the text, is related by ſeveral of the antient writers, but with ſome immaterial variation in reſpect to circumſtances. The account Livy gives of this matter, ſeems to reſt upon the moſt authentic foundation;

as

as he took it from the ſpeech that Cato delivered upon this very occaſion: a ſpeech, the hiſtorian obſerves, in which the powers of reaſon and eloquence were ſo forcibly united, as would have conſtrained even the brother himſelf of Flamininus to have paſſed ſentence againſt him, had he preſided as judge at the trial. The general purport of the charge as ſtated by Cato was, that Flamininus having prevailed upon a noble youth with whom he was engaged in an abominable connection, to attend him into the province; the boy was perpetually complaining that in order to comply with his deſire, he had loſt the opportunity of being preſent at the gladiatorial combats in Rome. It happened, while Flamininus was in the midſt of a public entertainment and fluſhed with wine; that a meſſage was delivered to him from a certain nobleman of Gaul, acquainting him that he was arrived with his family in the Roman camp and deſired to ſurrender himſelf into the proconſul's

proconſul's protection. Flamininus ordered him to be introduced: and while the unfortunate Gaul was addreſſing his ſpeech to him, the proconſul, turning to his pathic, "you "were diſappointed," ſaid he, "of "being preſent at the gladiatorial "combats in Rome, but do you wiſh "now to ſee a man die?" The youth had ſcarce time to reply, when Flamininus ſnatched up his ſword; and by an unexampled act of the moſt perfidious and wanton cruelty that ever diſgraced human nature, plunged it into the ſtranger's heart. *Plut. et Corn. Nep. in vit. Caton. Liv.* xxxix. 40. *et fegg.*

(50) In the Y. of R. 471, and in the conſulate of Fabricius, the Samnites, (a nation which inhabited a diſtrict of Italy now called Abruzzo) together with almoſt all the other Italian ſtates, took up arms againſt the republic. To theſe hoſtilities they were principally inſtigated by the Tarentines; who

who not thinking the confederate armies, in conjunction with their allies, ſufficiently ſtrong to oppoſe the Romans, applyed for ſuccour to Pyrrhus king of Epirus. This celebrated commander readily accepted the invitation; and ſoon landed at Tarentum at the head of a very conſiderable body of troops. In the courſe of the war, Fabricius, together with two other perſons of principal rank, were commiſſioned by the ſenate to treat with Pyrrhus concerning an exchange of priſoners: and it was at an entertainment given to the Roman ambaſſadors upon this occaſion, that Cyneas, the favourite and able miniſter of Pyrrhus, related to them the general principles of the Epicurean doctrine.

Epicurus began to teach his philoſophy in Athens, the place of his nativity, about twenty years before this converſation is ſaid to have paſſed; and which probably was the firſt notice the Romans received of a ſyſtem, that in after

after times became the faſhionable philoſophy in Rome. That ſuch a genius as Lucretius ſhould appear in the number of its warmeſt converts and admirers, is a remarkable inſtance that reaſon has ſometimes proved the dupe of imagination even in the fineſt underſtandings. Indeed, the wildeſt reveries of fancy never conceived a more abſurd and extravagant romance, than that great poet has delivered as a ſober ſyſtem of phyſics, in one of the nobleſt didactic poems extant. But although his maſter's *natural* philoſophy has been juſtly rejected with contempt; his *moral* doctrine has received, perhaps, a ſeverer treatment than it deſerved. Unfortunately in this reſpect for the credit of Epicurus, as well as for the conduct of ſome of his leſs diſcerning followers, he made uſe of an ambiguous term to expreſs the *governing* motive and *ultimate* object of human purſuits: for if he had called it happineſs, and not *pleaſure*; his diſciples, it is probable, would not ſo generally

generally have miſtaken his *meaning*, nor wandered with ſhame and diſappointment in the paths of voluptuouſneſs, in queſt of that felicity which is only to be found in thoſe of virtue.

Epicurus was the laſt among thoſe ſages of antient Greece, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves as inſtitutors of new ſyſtems; the ſubſequent philoſophers of note in the different ſects, having no otherwiſe rendered their names famous than by explaining, or improving, the general principles of their reſpective founders. Indeed, to ſpeak with ſtrict hiſtorical preciſion, Epicurus himſelf was not the original author of the theory that paſſes under his name; as his phyſiological ſyſtem was chiefly a revival of the atomical philoſophy, which had been invented by Democritus about a century before him. *Plut. in vit. Pyrh. Blair's chron. Diog. Laert. in vit. Epict.*

(51) In a battle which was fought between the republic and the Latins in the Y. of *R.* 457, Decius, who commanded the left wing of the Roman army, finding his troops begin to yield to the impreſſion of the enemy, had great reaſon to apprehend a general rout would enſue. In this exigency he had recourſe to *devotement:* by which a commander in chief, making a voluntary oblation of his own life in the field of battle, was ſuppoſed to appeaſe the anger of the Gods, and reconcile them to the cauſe of his country. Accordingly Decius, inſtantly calling upon the high prieſt to pronounce the form of invocation appointed by the Roman ritual for that purpoſe, ruſhed into the midſt of the engagement; where after having performed wonders of valour, he was at length cut to pieces by the enemy. In a ſubſequent war with the Samnites, Publius Decius, the ſon of the former, ſacrified his life in the ſame manner, and upon a ſimilar occaſion. This ſuperſtition took its riſe from the

ſpirited

ſpirited conduct of ſome heroic captains of more remote times, who when they were ſtrongly preſſed in battle, and ſaw their troops giving way, endeavoured to call them back to the charge, and ſometimes, perhaps, ſecured the victory, by this animating and heroic expoſure of their own lives to certain and immediate deſtruction. It is to be obſerved, however, that theſe military ſacrifices prevailed only in the earlier ages of the common-wealth. In more improved times, the principle upon which they were founded began to be queſtioned: it was aſked, *Quæ fuit deorum tanta iniquitas, ut placari populo Romano non poſſent niſi* viri tales *occidiſſent?* The good ſenſe which ſuggeſted this queſtion, ſoon taught the Romans, that although courage inſpired by ſuperſtition has ſometimes led to unexpected victory; yet a principle of honour united with a ſpirit of ambition, are motives at leaſt equally vigorous, and much more likely to purſue to the proper meaſures for obtaining the ſame end.

end. Accordingly in the later and more enlightened periods of the republic, we find this ceremony, together with others of the ſame ſuppoſed efficacy in matters of war, rated at their true value; and if not in every reſpect totally laid aſide, yet obſerved merely in compliance with vulgar credulity, and popular attachment to antient forms. *Liv.* viii. 9. x. 23. *Cic. de N. D.* ii. 3. iii. 6.

(52) The ſignal victory mentioned in the text, was obtained by Duilius in the Y. of R. 495, and the gallant commander was honoured with the pomp of a public triumph. But this was not the only diſtinction conferred on his important ſervices. The Romans, in order to tranſmit the memory of them to futute generations, cauſed ſilver medals to be ſtruck, and alſo a pillar of white marble adorned with naval ornaments, to be erected in the forum. Both theſe memorials have had the uncommon fortune not to diſappoint the

the purpoſe for which they were intended: as ſome of the medals are ſtill to be ſeen in the cabinets of the curious; and the marble pillar with its inſcription, accidently dug up in the laſt century, is at preſent the object of the traveller's admiration in the piazza di campidoglio of modern Rome. Nothing indeed ſeems to have been wanting to complete the glory of this illuſtrious action, but that Duilius had been leſs ſenſible of it himſelf; as the oſtentatious privilege he aſſumed in conſequence of it, betrayed a vanity altogether unworthy of a great ſpirit. *Non contentus unius diei triumpho*, ſays Florus, *per vitam omnem, ubi a cæna rediret, prælucere funalia, præcinere ſibi Tibias juſſit, quaſi quoti die triumpharet. Pigh. anual.* ii. 22. *Flor.* ii. 2.

(53) Cybele, a divinity ſaid to be the mother of the gods, was worſhiped at Preſſinus in Phrygia, under the figure of a rude ſtone; which was reported to have fallen from heaven on mount

mount Ida. The Sybilline oracles being conſulted in conſequence of ſeveral prodigies which alarmed the republic in the Y. of R. 549; the perſons appointed to inſpect thoſe pretended prophecies, declared that certain advantages, which they particularly ſpecified, would accrue to the commonwealth, if this extraordinary image could be procured and brought to Rome. A ſolemn embaſſy was appointed for that purpoſe: and the ſtatue, if a ſhapeleſs ſtone may be ſo called, was accordingly obtained.

The *confraternities* mentioned in the text, were ſocieties eſtabliſhed in honour of particular divinities, and for the purpoſe of celebrating their annual feſtivals. A cuſtom of the ſame kind prevails in Roman catholic countries, where in every great town there are ſocieties under the title of *confrairies*, who meet to celebrate the anniverſary of the particular ſaint whom they have choſen for their patron. And well it would be, if this were the only inſtance

of

of conformity between Papal and *Pagan* Rome! *Liv.* xxix. 10.

(54) The Romans, by a cuſtom derived to them from Greece, uſually appointed at their ſocial meetings a preſident of the club, who was either nominated by the general conſent of the company, or choſen by balot. When the principal object of theſe parties, was to indulge themſelves in the pleaſures of the table; the buſineſs of the *chairman*, (to expreſs his title in modern phraſe) was to regulate the mode of drinking, and announce the laws to be obſerved for that purpoſe: to which he uſually added, *aut bibe, aut abi.* To theſe laws and the admonitory clauſe generally annexed to them, the *ſermo in poculis qui a ſummo adhibetur*, mentioned in the text, ſeems to allude. As regulations of this ſort had certainly more of conſtraint than is conſiſtent with that eaſe and freedom ſo eſſential to the true enjoyment of the ſocial pleaſures; one cannot but wonder that

this cuſtom, which undoubtedly took its riſe in the ruder ages of the Roman common-wealth, ſhould have continued during its politeſt and moſt improved period. Horace, however, agreably to that refined good ſenſe and elegance of ſentiment which diſtinguiſhes his character, ſaw and condemned the abſurdity of this practice; as the gueſts at his own table, he tells us, were ſubject to no other rules but ſuch as their particular taſte and inclinations ſuggeſted:

—— *Prout Quiſque* libido *eſt*
Siccat inæquales *calices conviva, ſolutus*
Legibus inſanis.

When the company conſiſted of men of a ſpeculative and philoſophical turn; the preſident had a farther office aſſigned to him beſides that already mentioned. He propoſed the topics of converſation, and delivered out ſuch queſtions for their common diſcuſſion as might prove at once both inſtructive

and

and amuſing. To this end, it was neceſſary that the perſon ſo officiating ſhould be well acquainted with the reſpective talents of the ſeveral members of the ſociety; as it was his buſineſs, by ſtarting ſuitable ſubjects for their examination, to give each in his turn an opportunity of diſplaying his peculiar genius and powers. Some very valuable ſpecimens of the nature of theſe literary aſſemblies, and the manner in which they were conducted, have been preſerved in the writings of Xenophon and Plutarch.

For the reſt, it appears that Cato, notwithſtanding he obſerved in general a moſt abſtemious ſobriety, did not ſcruple, upon proper occaſions, a little to deviate from the ſevere rules of a rigid temperance. It was with great propriety, therefore, that Horace cited the example of this venerable ſage, as an encouragement to his philoſophical friend to taſte freely of the good old wine he had broached on purpoſe for his entertainment:

 Naratur

Naratur et Priſci Catonis
Sæpe mero caluiſſe Virtus.

The truth is, the poet might, upon this occaſion, have exhorted his friend to a leſs reſtrained enjoyment of the good cheer he had prepared, by an higher authority than even that of Cato; if indeed good ſenſe could appeal to any authority higher than its own. For Plato expreſsly recommended it to his diſciples to indulge themſelves ſometimes in a free participation of theſe convivial pleaſures, as conducive to very important purpoſes of a moral kind. By occaſionally complying, to a certain degree, with the gay humour of thoſe lively parties, they would learn, he told them, to converſe in the world with leſs danger from its allurements; and prove the ſtrength of their virtue, not by declining opportunities of putting it to the trial, but by vigouroufly exerciſing it in the midſt of temptations. The philoſopher added,

ded, that a farther advantage might alſo be drawn from a moderate indulgence ſometimes in theſe table-gratifications; as a free circulation of the cup, not only enlivened and invigorated the powers of the mind, but frequently called forth the latent paſſions of the ſoul, and gave a man an opportunity of diſcovering and correcting thoſe ſecret flaws in his temper and diſpoſition which otherwiſe might have lain concealed, perhaps, from his moſt attentive ſcrutiny. *Plut. Symp.* i. 4. *Tuſc. diſp.* v. 41. *Hor. od.* iii. 21. *Plato de leg. ap. Aul. Gal.* xv. 2. *et Macrob. Saturn.* ii. 8.

(55) That ſociable and chearful ſpirit, which Cato preſerved to an extreme old-age, is particularly remarked by Plutarch in his life of this venerable Roman; as indeed it is one of the moſt uncommon, as well as the moſt pleaſing features in his illuſtrious character. For "old-age" (as the ſenſible Montagne with his uſual force and boldneſs

of metaphor ſtrongly expreſſes it) "is "apt to impreſs as many *wrinkles* on "the mind, as on the body; and there "are very few when advanced to that "period of life, *qui ne ſentent l' aigre "& le moiſi.*" It was from this ſingular livelineſs of good-humour, that Cato's company was ſought, not only by men of the ſame age with himſelf, but by perſons of much younger years; as the natural vivacity of his diſpoſition, together with his great knowledge and experience of the world, rendered his converſation equally inſtructive and entertaining. The uſual turn of his diſcourſe with his friends at table, is a proof of the enlarged and manly ſentiments of his heart; as it generally gave him occaſion to ſpeak with honour of thoſe among his country-men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their public, or private, virtues; diſcouraging, at the ſame time, every topic which tended to gratify that little, malevolent ſpirit of detraction which is ſo apt to infect the converſation of thoſe who,

who, not being qualified to riſe to any degree of eminence themſelves, delight in expoſing thoſe blemiſhes in others. In ſhort, what was ſaid of Plato's ſuppers, might with equal truth be applied to Cato's: "they afforded a "*feaſt* the next day." To be able indeed to review with ſatisfaction and advantage thoſe hours which have been paſſed in converſation, is a benefit that does not always attend them: and perhaps it is not often that a rational mind, after having ſpent an evening in what the world calls *good* company, may not look back upon it with the ſame reflections which the poet puts into the the mouth of Solomon;

What had been ſaid, I aſk'd my ſoul, what done;
How flow'd our mirth, and whence the ſource begun?
Perhaps the jeſt that charm'd the ſprightly crowd,
And made the jovial table laugh ſo loud,
To ſome falſe notion ow'd its poor pretence;
To an ambiguous word's perverted ſenſe;

To a wild ſonnet or a wanton air;
Offence and torture to the ſober ear.
Perhaps, alas! the pleaſing ſtream was brought,
From this man's error, from another's fault;
From topics which good-nature would forget,
And prudence mention with the laſt regret.

Montag. iii. 430. ed. par Coſte. Plut. in vit. Caton. Prior's Solomon, B. ii.

(56) A celebrated actor who flouriſhed about the Y. of R. 590. It appears that he performed a part in the repreſentation of ſeveral of Terence's plays.

(57) He ſeems to have been the firſt Roman whoſe aſtronomical ſkill extended ſo far as to be capable of calculating an eclipſe. His knowledge of the planetry revolutions was of good ſervice to Paulus Æmilius, in whoſe army he ſerv'd as legionary tribune, when that great commander in the Y. of R. 585, led the troops of the republic againſt Perſes king of Macedon.

For

For the day before that deciſive engagement, in which the Roman general obtained a complete victory over the king's forces; Gallus appriſed the ſoldiers that an eclipſe of the moon would happen that night. He aſſured them at the ſame time, that it was by no means an ominous and alarming appearance, but a regular and neceſſary effect of thoſe laws which nature had eſtabliſhed in the heavens, and which human ſcience was able with great certainty to inveſtigate. In conſequence of this prediction, the Roman army beheld the expected phænomenon without the leaſt foreboding apprehenſion: whereas the Macedonian troops, on the contrary, looked up to it with terror and diſmay as a prodigy that announced, (and of courſe therefore contributed to facilitate) their total overthrow. *Plin. H. N.* ii. 12. *Liv.* xliv. 37.

(58) With reſpect to *Nævius* ſee note 30. *Plautus* is well known to the Engliſh reader, by an excellent tranſla-

tion which lately appeared in our language. *Livius Andronicus* was the firſt poet that exhibited a regular drama at Rome; in the year 541. But his works were ſo little eſteemed in a more refined age, that Quintilian does not even mention his name when he is enumerating thoſe latin poets, who had been diſtinguiſhed by the tragic muſe. Concerning *Craſſus*, ſee note 37. *P. Scipio*, the chief pontiff, was uſually diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Corculum*, in alluſion to thoſe humane and ſocial virtues which particularly marked his character. He was the ſon of Scipio Naſica, who had the honour of being declared by the unanimous voice of the ſenate, the worthieſt man in Rome. See note . . *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*, by an inſtance which rarely occurs in the Roman hiſtory, was advanced, in the Y. of R. 549, to the dignity of cenſor before he had paſſed through the office of conſul. He greatly ſignalized his valour in the ſecond

cond Punic war. *Quint.* x. 1. *Pigh. an.* ii. 358. *Liv.* xxix. ii.

(59) Cato, was author of a great variety of treatiſes, upon ſubjects of public utility. It is obſervable, that they were all of them compoſed only in his leiſure hours, and during thoſe intervals of public buſineſs which neceſſarily ſuſpended his more important labours. By theſe his inſtructive productions, he exemplified a noble maxim which he laid down in the introduction to one of them, and which Cicero in his oration for Plancius with ſo much reaſon extols: *Clarorum virorum atque magnorum non minus* otii *quam negotii* rationem extare *oportere*.

The particular work mentioned in the text, is the only part of his numerous writings which have come down to us intire. The venerable author enters into the moſt minute detail of rural œconomy, and inſtructs the farmer in the beſt manner, of preſerving his fruits, of fattening his poultry, and even of

of making all ſorts of paſtry. But among the rules he has laid down for the huſbandman's direction, there is one in which his ſpirit of parſimony has carried him much beyond thoſe bounds that a ſenſible and generous nature will always ſet to every conſideration of profit. In his advice to the farmer to diſpoſe of all his uſeleſs ſtock, he does not ſcruple to ſpecify the ſelling of a ſlave, worn out with labour and infirmity in his maſter's ſervice. *Vendat boves*, ſays this ſevere œconomiſt, *vendat ſervum* ſenem, *ſervum* morboſum, *& ſiquid aliud ſuperſit, vendat*.

Plutarch, who in his life of Cato takes notice of this ungenerous precept, has added reflections upon it that do honour to the nobler feelings of his own moſt excellent heart. "In my "opinion," ſays this humane and amiable author, "to conſider a ſlave "as merely a beaſt of burden, and to "drive him off your land, or ſell him, "when age has diſabled him from "work;

" work; is the mark of a baſe and
" ſordid mind, who looks upon his
" ſpecies as ſtanding in no other rela-
" tion to him than as they are capable
" of adminiſtering to his intereſt or
" convenience. But the laws of hu-
" manity, which nature has ſo deeply
" impreſſed on the heart of man,
" create duties to which the inſtituti-
" ons of civil policy cannot extend:
" they require us to exert ſentiments
" not only of tenderneſs, but on ſome
" occaſions, of gratitude too, even to-
" wards the brute creation. In con-
" formity with this principle, to con-
" tinue to nouriſh our old horſes and
" dogs that are no longer able to perform
" thoſe labours in which we employed
" them during the days of their
" ſtrength and vigour, is an act per-
" fectly ſuitable to that innate impreſ-
" ſion of compaſſion which is the diſ-
" tinguiſhing characteriſtic of the hu-
" man ſpecies. In conſequence of
" this ſenſibility of diſpoſition, the
" Athenians, after they had completed

" the

" the building of the temple called the " *Hecatompedon*, exempted from all " future toil, thoſe beaſts of burden " whoſe labours had aſſiſted in carry- " ing on that ſacred edifice; turning " them into the public meadows to " range in eaſe and liberty during the " remainder of their lives. Thus " likewiſe, near the tomb of Cimon, " may ſtill be ſeen the ſepulchre of " thoſe horſes with which he thrice " obtained the prize at the olympic " games.

" The ſtory of Xanthippus, father " of Pericles, is well known. When " the Athenians, during the war in " which they were engaged againſt the " Perſians, were conſtrained to aban- " don their city and retire to the iſland " of Salamis; Xanthippus embarked " with the reſt of his countrymen. " His faithful dog having been left " behind, ſwam after the ſhip till it " reached the ſhore; where the poor " creature was no ſooner landed than " he threw himſelf down exhauſted

" with

" with fatigue, and expired at his maſ-
" ter's feet. Xanthippus buried him
" on the ſpot: and as a grateful me-
" morial of his fidelity, erected a mo-
" nument over his grave, which re-
" mains to this day, and is known by
" the name of *Cynoſſema*, or the dog's
" ſepulchre.

" The truth is, we ought not to uſe
" creatures endowed with a ſenſitive
" ſoul, as if they were void of all
" feeling: and we ſhould accuſtom
" ourſelves to treat them with tender-
" neſs, were it for no other reaſon than
" as an exerciſe of our humanity, and
" in order to render our hearts, by ha-
" bitual ſentiments of this kind, the
" more diſpoſed to exert the kind af-
" fections towards our own ſpecies.
" For myſelf at leaſt; I could not be
" prevailed upon, by any conſideration,
" to part with an ox that had grown
" old and infirm by labouring in my
" grounds; much leſs could I be
" induced, for the ſake of a little pe-
" cuniary advantage, to ſell an old

" worn-

" worn-out ſlave, and by thus driving " him from my family, baniſh him, " as it were, from that ſcene and thoſe " habits of life to which he had been " long accuſtomed."

To theſe generous ſentiments of the humane Plutarch, I ſhall only add, that the ſame ſpirit of tenderneſs and gratitude towards that animal, to which the huſbandman is ſo much obliged, appears to have actuated ſome of the antient legiſlators in the earlier ages of the world. The good natured prohibition of Moſes " not to muzzle the " ox that treadeth out the corn," will no doubt occur to every reader's mind upon this occaſion. Among the Athenians there was a law, that rendered it penal to kill an ox that had been yoked either to the plough or the cart. The ſame reſtriction, under no leſs a penalty than baniſhment, was to be found in the Roman code, in the firſt ages of that republic. And in both inſtances, the reaſon, expreſsly aſſigned for the law, is founded upon the ſame generous

ous principle which Ovid puts into the mouth of Pythagoras in thoſe famous lines,

Immemor eſt demum, nec frugum munere dignus
Qui potuit, curvi dempto modo pondere aratri,
Ruricolam mactare ſuam; Qui trita labore
Illa quibus toties duram renovaverit arvum,
Tot dederat meſſes, percuſſit colla ſecuri.

Unworthy He to reap the fertile field,
Whoſe ſoul to pity's gen'rous feeling ſteel'd,
Aims with ungrateful hand the murd'rous ſtroke
To fell his ox, juſt recent from the yoke;
The patient partner of his daily toil,
Who many a year has plough'd the ſtub-born ſoil!

Plut. in vit. Caton. Ælian. var. hiſt. v. 14. *Plin. H. N.* viii. 45. *Ovid. met.* xv.

(60) Some of the commentators have obſerved, that Cicero's memory failed him in this place; as Laertes in the paſſage alluded to, is not found employed in dunging his ground, but

- - *ſtood,*

- - - - - - - - - - *ſtood,*
And clear'd a plant encumb'red with its wood.
Pope's tranſ.

(61) The ſucceſs of the Roman arms againſt the Samnites in the Y. of R. 462, having compelled the enemy to ſue for peace; the ſenate left the terms to be ſettled at the diſcretion of Curius Dentatus, the brave commander of their victorious troops. The deputies from the Samnites, found the hero dreſſing his own dinner; which conſiſted only of pot-herbs: and it was in this ſituation that he rejected, with the magnanimous ſpirit mentioned in the text, the very conſiderable bribe they preſumed to offer him. *Plut. Apoph. Val. Max.* iv. 3.

(62) Cincinnatus was twice inveſted with this ſupreme authority: and the two facts which Cicero has blended together, were divided by an interval of ſeveral years; the former reſpecting

ing his firſt dictatorſhip, which was in the Y. of R. 295; and the latter having happened when he filled that office a ſecond time, in the Y. 314. The occaſion of this abſolute power being committed to his truſt at the period laſt mentioned, aroſe from the dangerous practices of Sp. Mælius; who taking advantage of the diſtreſs the public laboured under at this time, by a general famine, had rendered himſelf extremely popular by ſupplying the poor with corn at his own expence. It having been diſcovered that he was concerting means, by the aſſiſtance of the populace, to overturn the government; the dictator ſummoned him by Servilius Ahala, his maſter of the horſe, to appear before his tribunal. Mælius refuſing to obey, and appealing to the people for protection; Ahala ruſhed into the midſt of the mob and ſtabbed him to the heart.

As to that other circumſtance, of Cincinnatus being found conducting his

his plough, by the perſons deputed from the ſenate to announce his being appointed dictator; it is a ſtory too generally known to require a particular recital: but a ſtory, however, as Livy remarks, that cannot be too often repeated to thoſe who think nothing is deſpicable but poverty, or truly honourable and praiſe-worthy but riches. Or to expreſs that admirable hiſtorian's ſentiment in his own more emphatical language, *operæ pretium eſt audire* (ſays he) *qui omnia præ divitiis humana ſpernunt, neque honori magno locum neque virtuti putant eſſe, niſi ubi effuſé affluant opes.* Liv. iii. 26. iv. 12.

(63) The epithet which Cicero here gives to this famous Lacedæmonian general, ill agrees with his true character; if hiſtory has not been extremely unjuſt to his memory. With reſpect indeed to martial virtues, Lyſander's ſuperior merit may perhaps be admitted; but for the reſt, his conduct was ſtained with two of the black-

eſt

eſt vices that can diſgrace the human heart; cruelty and perfidiouſneſs. To give a ſpecimen of his principles; one of the maxims by which he governed his actions was, that "men "are to be duped by oaths as children "are by toys."

The prince with whom Lyſander held the converſation related in the text, was the ſecond ſon of Darius Nothus; who inveſted him at a very early age with the ſov'reignty of all thoſe provinces belonging to the Perſian empire, which were ſituated in Aſia Minor. He was brave but ambitious: and was ſlain in the field of battle, attempting to wreſt the imperial crown from Artaxerxes Mnemon, his elder brother. *Plut. in vit. Lyſand. et Artax.*

(64) The Hetrurians (a people whoſe territory is now partly comprehended in that diſtrict of Italy called St. Peter's patrimony) having broken the truce which they had made with the

the republic in the Y. of. R. 454; the Romans ſent an army into their country, to take vengeance for their breach of faith: and the command was given to T. Manlius Torquatus. But that general having ſoon after been killed by a fall from his horſe; Valerius Corvus was choſen to ſucceed him in the conſulate. His election was attended with a circumſtance which had never happened before: for his character was ſo univerſally revered by the people, that they gave him their general ſuffrage without one diſſenting voice. This was the ſixth time of his being raiſed to the conſular dignity; and the laſt of his military expeditions. But altho' he was now far advanced in years, his appearance at the head of the Roman army ſo terrified the Hetrurians, that they immediately retired within their intrenchments, and could by no means be provoked to give him battle. This great man, (to give his character in the words of a late ingenious hiſtorian) "was not only a thorough pa-

"triot,

" triot, and perfect pattern of that " zeal which men owe to their coun- " try; but an excellent model of the " paternal care which the head of a " family ought to have of his children, " and relations. Great in peace, and " great in war, Valerius Corvus ſhone " eminent among thoſe heroes who " appeared in the moſt glorious, be- " cauſe in the moſt virtuous, age of " Rome." *Pigh. an. Hooke's R. H.* i. 543.

(65) *Metellus* early diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his talents and his virtues, in the ſeveral departments of the ſtate to which he was called by the general voice of his country: and his old-age proved no leſs glorious to himſelf, and beneficial to the republic, than every former period of his honourable life. See note 38. *Attilius Calatinus*, after having been twice conſul, was in the Y. of R. 504, advanced to the dictatorſhip. Cicero ſcarcely ever mentions his name in any part of his writings but

but in terms that ſpeak the warmeſt ſentiments of his merit; as indeed his character appears to have been univerſally admired. When it is conſidered that Calatinus flouriſhed in the golden age of the republic, and in the ſame period with *Coruncanius*, *Curius* and *Fabricius*; it muſt be acknowledged, that it is not in the power of language to convey a ſtronger idea of exalted virtues, than is expreſſed in the very ſimple, but ſignificant, epitaph inſcribed on his monument, and alluded to in the text: UNO. ORE. PLURIMÆ. CONSENTIUNT. GENTES. PRIMARIUM. POPULI. FUISSE. VIRUM.

(66) Some account of *Craſſus* has already been given. See note 36. It appears by the epitome of Livy, that *M. Lepidus* died in the Y. of R. 602. If he is the ſame perſon, therefore, whoſe name is regiſtered in the Capitoline marbles, as conſul in the year 521; he muſt have been more than a hundred

dred at the time of his death, even ſuppoſing him to have been elected into that office conſiderably ſooner than the legal age. *Liv. epit.* xlviii.

(67) The college of augurs: it conſiſted at this time of nine members, the eldeſt of whom was always *magiſter collegii*, or preſident of the ſociety. Their buſineſs was to interpret omens, prodigies, &c. and to determine by the principles of divination, whether any particular meaſure in queſtion would prove fortunate, or the contrary.

(68) It ſeems ſomewhat extraordinary that Cicero ſhould aſſert, there is no *poſſible* medium between the ſoul's ceaſing to exiſt after death, or continuing to exiſt for ever. A temporary duration in a future ſtate, is undoubtedly *poſſible:* and it was a tenet actually maintained by the Stoics. Zeno held, as Laertius informs us, Την ψυχην μετα θανατον επιμενειν· φθαρτην δε ειναι: or, as Cicero himſelf has elſewhere, in more explicit

terms, repreſented this opinion, "*diu* "manſuros aiunt Animos, *ſemper* ne-"gant." Their notion was, that the ſoul is an emanation of the divine eſſence; into which, after having exiſted during a certain period in a detached ſtate, it would again be reſorbed at the general conſummation of all things. With reſpect to the ſubſequent words which our author puts into the mouth of Cato, *quid igitur timeam, ſi aut non miſer poſt mortem, aut beatus etiam futurus ſum*; it may admit of a queſtion whether this is to be underſtood in a reſtrictive ſenſe, and as expreſſing only Cato's perſonal hopes of a happy immortality, from a conſciouſneſs of his endeavours to deſerve it; or whether it is to be conſidered as a general declaration of his ſentiments, that the doctrine of a future ſtate of *puniſhment* is abſurd and groundleſs. It is certain that Cicero expreſsly derides the popular belief concerning the nature of thoſe puniſhments which would be inflicted on the impious in a future

ſtate:

ſtate: *quæ eſt Anus tam delira*, he aſks his friend in the Tuſculan quæſtions, *quæ timeat iſta?* And it is equally certain that the antient philoſophers conſidered this article of the vulgar creed, in the ſame light with Cicero. It has been aſſerted indeed, by an ingenious foreign writer, that theſe philoſophers went much farther; and not only rejected with contempt thoſe *modes* of future puniſhment which were ſet forth in the *public* religion; but, "by "maintaining that *vindictive* juſtice "could not enter into the attributes "of the ſupreme being they totally "ſubverted one of the ſtrongeſt pillars "of morality." [*Entreciens de Cic. ſur la Nat. des Dieux, par L'Abbé olivet vol.* iii. *p.* 134. *rem.* 3. *& p.* 321.] The authority upon which the learned Abbé reſts this charge, is founded on a paſſage in Cicero' treatiſe *de officiis*, in which it is affirmed to have been the unanimous opinion of *all* the philoſophers in general, *numquam nec* iraſci *Deum nec* nocere. But theſe premiſes

do not ſeem neceſſarily to lead to the concluſion inferred from them. For admitting that thoſe iraſcible and vindictive paſſions which inſtigate human reſentments, are incompatible with the divine nature; it by no means follows, that the offender againſt the laws of moral duty, had nothing to fear from the hands of the ſupreme governor of the world. Accordingly, the ſame philoſophers who contended for this innoxious and unreſentful character of the Deity, no leſs ſtrenuouſly maintained that tranſgreſſors would not eſcape with impunity. Thus Seneca unites both thoſe propoſitions, as being perfectly compatible with each other. *Errat*, ſays he, *ſi quis putat Deos* nocere *velle: non poſſunt. Nec accipere injuriam queunt, nec facere.—Hi nec dant malum nec habent: cæterum caſtigant et coercent & irrogant pœnas & aliquando ſpecie boni puniunt.* Plutarch alſo connects the ſame principles and points out their conſiſtency, by repreſenting the divine puniſhments as ſo many merciful

merciful remedies which naturally tend to correct and heal the moral diſeaſes of the ſoul, and reſtore her original ſanity: Ου γαρ αμυνεται (ο θεος) τον αδικησαντα κακως καθων, ſays that knowing and ſenſible writer, ουδε οργιζεται τω αρπασαντι βιασθεις, ουδε μισει τον μοιχον υβρισθεις, αλλα ΙΑΤΡΕΙΑΣ ενεκα τον μοιχικον &c. ΚΟΛΑΖΕΙ.

As it appears therefore, that the doctrine which Cicero, in the treatiſe above cited, affirms to have been maintained by *all* the philoſophers concerning the moral attributes of the Diety, is in no reſpect inconſiſtent with the belief of a future ſtate of *puniſhment*; it ſeems reaſonable to conclude that in the paſſage which gave occaſion to the preſent remark, he had no intention to aſſert, in an abſolute and unreſtrained ſenſe, that the only conſequence which would follow death, was either a total extinction of being, or a happy exiſtence of endleſs duration. And that he cannot fairly be charged with entertaining ſo abſurd an hypotheſis, is farther evident from his own expreſs de-

clarations in other paſſages of his writings, particularly in the concluſion of *Scipio's dream*, where he admits that a diſtinction will be made in the condition of the virtuous and the wicked, in a future ſtate. Nor is there any juſt reaſon to ſuſpect that this was not his real perſuaſion: not only as it is a doctrine moſt conſonant with reaſon and the general opinion of mankind; but as it was maintained by all the diſciples of the Socratic and Platonic ſchools; that is, by thoſe ſages whom Cicero admired even to a degree of enthuſiaſm, and looked upon all who diſſented from their principles, as philoſophers of the loweſt claſs: *plebeii philoſophi—appellandi videantur*, ſays he, *qui a Platone & Socrate et ea familia diſſident. Tuſc. diſp.* i 21. *Lipſ. Phyſ.* iii. 11. *Tuſc. diſp.* i. 23. *Theolog. des Philoſoph. par l'Abbé d'Olivet.* iii. *p.* 321. *Sen Ep.* 95. *Plut. de iis q. tard. a num. corrip.*

(69) He was prætor in the Y. 601: and died before the expiration of his office. His father took the care of his education into his own hands; training him to all thoſe manly virtues, and inſtructing him in the ſeveral branches of uſeful knowledge, in which he himſelf ſo eminently excelled. The young man profited accordingly: and when he came forth into the world, proved himſelf the worthy ſon and deſciple of his wiſe and revered inſtructor. *Liv. Ep.* xlviii. *Plut. in vit. Caton.*

(70) This venerable monarch is mentioned by ſeveral of the Greek and Roman writers, as an extraordinary inſtance of longevity; particularly by Pliny the naturaliſt, who thinks there is great reaſon to believe, that his life extended even to 130 years. It is altogether uncertain at what period this prince flouriſhed: ſome authors place his reign about the 130th year of Rome. *Gades*, the capital of his territories, is now called Cadiz, a city in

Spain. *Plin. N. H.* viii. *Cellar. Geog.*

(71) Solon, after having eſtabliſhed his celebrated laws in Athens, withdrew from that city, and ſet out upon his travels; in which he paſſed ſeveral years. When he returned, he found the common-wealth ſplit into three dangerous factions: at the head of one of theſe was Piſiſtratus, whoſe party Solon with great ſpirit, though very ineffectually, oppoſed. *Plut. in vit. Solon.*

(72) Although the practice of ſuicide too generally prevailed among the antient Greeks and Romans; yet it was a practice condemned by the beſt and wiſeſt of their philoſophers. Nothing can be more clear and expreſs than the prohibition of Pythagoras with reſpect to this act, as cited by Cicero in the preſent paſſage: and in this he was followed both by Socrates and Plato. Thoſe nobleſt and moſt enlightened of the Pagan moraliſts, conſidered ſuicide

as

as an act of rebellion againſt the authority of the ſupreme being; who having placed man in his preſent poſt, hath reſerved to himſelf alone the right of determining the proper time for his diſmiſſion. Agreeably to theſe principles, Cicero in his relation of Scipio's dream, repreſents the departed ſpirit of Æmilius as aſſuring his ſon, who had expreſſed an impatience of joining him in the heavenly manſions, that there was no admittance into thoſe regions of felicity for the man who attempted to force his way into them by his own *unauthoriſed* act. The Platonic poet, it is well known, places thoſe unhappy perſons in a ſtate of puniſhment, who not having the piety and the courage to ſupport their misfortunes with due reſignation, impiouſly endeavoured to deliver themſelves by venturing to be their own executioners:

——Quam vellent æthere in alto
Nunc et pauperiem & duros perferre labores!
Virg.

"*Oh! with what joy the wretches now would bear,*
"*Pain, toil, and woe, to breathe the vital air!*"

Pit.

Plotinus alſo, one of the moſt approved writers among the later Platoniſts, hath entered his proteſt againſt the lawfulneſs of ſelf murder, in a treatiſe written expreſsly upon the ſubject. This piece indeed, though ſtill exiſting, hath never been printed: but the general principles upon which he argued, appear from ſeveral paſſages of his writings quoted by Macrobius. Among theſe, there are two which deſerve to be particularly noticed; as they place the crime in no common, though at the ſame time, in a very ſtriking point of view. The mere act itſelf, he obſerves, abſtracted from all other conſiderations which gave it a criminal complexion, is committed with ſo much perturbation of mind as to diſcompoſe the ſoul with paſſion, in the very inſtant of its departure from the body; and conſequently

conſequently diſmiſſes her in a temper ill qualified to be aſſociated with the pure and undiſturbed ſpirits of a better world. He adds (and it is a reflection that deſerves to be well-weighed by thoſe who favour the practiſe he oppoſes) that he who in any other inſtance deviates from the line of moral duty, like a man who ſtumbles in a plain path, may eaſily recover his former ground; whereas he who is guilty of ſuicide, may be reſembled to a man who makes a falſe ſtep on the edge of a precipice; his fall is deſperate and the conſequence irretrievable.

Such were the ſentiments of the moſt approved moraliſts among the antient philoſophers. The doctrine of the Stoics, it muſt be acknowledged, was more relaxed upon this important article. But although they did not ſcruple to repreſent it even as *duty* in ſome very *particular* circumſtances; they ought, if they had reaſoned conſequentially from their own principles, to have held it forth as highly criminal

in *all*. For there is no precept of morality which they inculcate more frequently nor in ſtronger terms, than an unlimited ſubmiſſion to the diſpenſations of providence. The truth is, the antient writers of this ſect, are not more at variance with reaſon, than with themſelves, in what they have delivered upon this ſubject. Inconſiſtency indeed, is one of the characteriſtical marks of the Stoical ſyſtem; as Plutarch has proved by a variety of inſtances drawn from the writings of Chryſippus. Thoſe of Seneca and Epictetus may equally be produced in ſupport of the ſame charge; ſo far at leaſt as relates to their ſentiments on the preſent queſtion. For they ſometimes contend for the lawfulneſs of ſuicide without any reſtriction; ſometimes only under very peculiar ſituations; and ſometimes zealouſly preſs upon their diſciples, as an indiſpenſible obligation, the duty of a pious acquieſcence under all the various calamities of human life. Agreeably to this

this laſt poſition, Seneca, in anſwer to a querulous letter he had received from his friend Lucilius, occaſioned by ſome domeſtic accident that had diſcompoſed his mind; repreſents to him how much it is the duty of a good man to fortify his ſoul againſt all events, and ſubmit to the *worſt*, not only without complaint, but with a firm perſuaſion that "*whatever is, is right.*" *Præparetur animus contra omnia: ſciat ſe veniſſe—ubi*

Luctus & ultrices poſuere cubilia curæ,
Pallenteſque habitant morbi, triſtiſque ſenectus.

—*Hanc rerum conditionem mutare non poſſumus: id poſſumus, magnum ſumere animum & viro bono dignum, quo fortiter fortuita patiamur et Naturæ conſentiamus.—Ad hanc legem* animus noſter aptandus eſt—*et quæcunque fiunt* debuiſſe fieri putet—*et deum*, quo auctore omnia proveniunt, *ſine* murmuratione *comitari.—Hic eſt* magnus animus *qui ſe*

ſe Deo *tradidit: at contra, Ille* puſillus ac degener, *qui obluctatur, et de ordine mundi male* exiſtimat, & *emendare mavult* Deos, *quam* ſe. "A wiſe and "good man," ſays he, "ſhould ſtand "prepared for all events; remember- "ing that he is deſtined to paſs through "a world where pain and ſorrow, diſ- "eaſe and infirmity are poſted in his "way. It is not in his power to "change theſe conditions upon which "he receives his preſent exiſtence; "but it certainly is, to ſubmit to them "with that fortitude, and acquieſcene "in the laws of nature, as becomes a "virtuous mind. It ſhould be our "conſtant endeavour therefore to re- "concile our minds to theſe unaltera- "ble laws of providence, and to ſub- "mit to them without murmur, or "complaint; fully perſuaded that "every thing is as it ought to be, and "that the government of the world is "in the hands of the ſupreme being. "To deliver himſelf up to that being "with an implicit and unreſerved re-

ſignation,

" ſignation, is the mark of a truly " great ſoul; as it is of a baſe and " little mind, to entertain unworthy " ſuſpicions of the order eſtabliſhed " in the world, to attempt to break " through the laws of providence, and " inſtead of correcting his own ways, " impiouſly preſume to correct the " ways of God." *Sen. Ep.* 107.

To the ſame purpoſe, and with equal inconſiſtency, is the doctrine of Epictetus; on the one hand telling thoſe who complain under the preſſure of any calamity, that they have the remedy in their own power; and on the other, exhorting them to bear with a patient compoſure of mind the evils that attend human life. and not preſume to deliver themſelves by an unwarranted deſertion of that poſt in which the Supreme Being has thought proper to place them. *Vid. Lipſ. Stoic. philoſ.* iii. 22, 23.

Upon the whole, it appears evident that the wiſeſt and moſt reſpectable of the antient philoſophers conſidered ſuicide

ſuicide as a criminal act; and that thoſe among them who maintained the contrary opinion, yet admitted and inculcated principles utterly ſubverſive of that pretended right which they ſuppoſed every man to have over his own life: ſo little can thoſe unhappy men be juſtified by the authority of the Greeks and Romans, who raſhly flee from the evils of the preſent ſcene, by a deſperate and preſumptuous intruſion into

That undiſcover'd country from whoſe borne
No traveller returns!

(73) The regal government being diſſolved by the expulſion of Tarquin in the Y. of R. 244; the two firſt conſuls, one of whom was Junius Brutus, put themſelves at the head of their troops in order to oppoſe Tarquin's attempts to recover his throne: who for that purpoſe had entered the Roman territory, ſupported by a conſiderable force. As ſoon as the two armies came

in

in ſight, Brutus was marked out by Aruns, one of Tarquin's ſons, who commanded his cavalry: and both chiefs furiouſly advancing before their reſpective troops, they were mutually ſlain by each others ſword. *Liv.* ii. 6. Concerning the *Decii*, ſee note 51.

(74) Marcus Attilius Regulus was a ſecond time conſul in the Y. of R. 497; the republic being then engaged in the firſt Punic war. During ſome part of it, Regulus commanded, both by ſea and land, with diſtinguiſhed courage, conduct and ſucceſs; but at length his army being defeated and himſelf taken priſoner, he was ſent in chains to Carthage. While he remained in this ſituation, the fortune of war turning to the diſadvantage of the Carthaginians, they ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, in order to prevail with the ſenate to accept terms of peace, or to agree to an exchange of priſoners. Regulus was permitted to accompany the ambaſſadors; having previouſly engaged upon oath,

oath, that if they did not ſucceed in their negotiation, he would return to Carthage and ſurrender himſelf again their priſoner. But when he took his place in the ſenate, he ſtrongly diſſuaded them from entering into any ſort of treaty with the enemy: and in conſequence of his opinion, the ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed with an abſolute refuſal of both the alternatives they had offered. The brave and virtuous Regulus, incapable of violating the faith he had ſolemnly pledged, returned to Carthage agreeably to his engagement: where ſoon afterwards, inſtead of being applauded and honoured for ſo unexampled a proof of inflexible integrity, he was baſely and cruelly put to a moſt painful death.

Horace has celebrated the ſingular virtue and ſpirit which this illuſtrious captive diſplayed upon this occaſion, in one of the nobleſt ſtrains of his immortal lyre. The reality, however, of thoſe tortures which Regulus is ſaid to have ſuſtained on his return to Carthage,

thage, hath been queſtioned, and with great appearance of reaſon, by ſome modern writers of conſiderable note in the republic of letters. See *Hooke's R. H.* ii. 47. 4*to. ed.* *Eutrop.* ii. 17. 21. 25. *Hor. od.* iii. 5.

(75) The two brothers here mentioned, were Cneius and Publius Scipio. The former, who was father to the firſt Scipio Africanus, being conſul in the Y. of R. 535, when Hanibal was preparing to invade Italy; the command of the republic's forces in Spain, was committed to his charge. Having embarked his troops for that province, and advanced as far as Marſeilles, he learned that the Carthaginian general had actually paſſed the Pyrenees. Suſpending, therefore, his original deſtination, he relanded his army with an intent of oppoſing the enemy's paſſage over the Rhone: but Hanibal had already paſſed that river. Upon theſe news, the conſul re-imbarked his troops: and diſpatching his brother, with

with the greateſt part of the army, into Spain; he returned into Italy with the remainder, in the hope of being able to reach the foot of the Alps before Hanibal could arrive there. Soon afterwards the two armies came to an engagement; in which Scipio's troops were defeated, and himſelf dangerouſly wounded. In the farther progreſs of this war, Cneius Scipio joined his brother Publius in Spain; where they greatly ſignalized their martial abilities. But in the courſe of their operations having thought it expedient to divide their forces; they were ſeparately attacked by the enemy, and each of them ſlain in battle at the head of their reſpective forces. *Liv.* xxv. 34. *et Seq.*

(76) Lucius Æmilius Paulus, together with C. Terentius Varro, were choſen conſuls in the Y. of R. 537, when Hanibal obtained a complete victory over the Romans, in the famous fields of Cannae. The two conſuls being

being appointed by the ſenate to take the command of the army; they found the Carthaginian general ſo advantageouſly poſted, that Æmilius thought it by no means prudent to hazard a battle. But his collegue Varro was of a different opinion: and accordingly made ſuch movements as neceſſarily brought on a general engagement; in which Æmilius, after having exerted the nobleſt efforts both of courage and conduct, unhappily loſt his life. *Liv.* xxii. 44. *et Seq.*

(77) In the eleventh year of the ſecond Punic war, the Romans laid ſiege to *Locri*, a maritime city in the ſouthern part of Italy. Between Hanibal's intrenchments and thoſe of the aſſailants, was a little hill which Marcellus and Criſpinus, the two conſuls who commanded the Roman troops, thought to be a poſt of ſo much importance, that they went with a guard of two hundred horſe in order to reconnoitre the ſpot. In attempting to execute this

this deſign, they fell into an ambuſcade; and Marcellus, endeavouring to retreat, was mortally wounded. When Hanibal was informed of this event, he appeared affected with the misfortune of this diſtinguiſhed captain; whoſe military talents he had often, in the courſe of this war, ſeverely experienced. Accordingly, as a mark of the ſingular eſteem in which he held the virtues of Marcellus, he ordered his body to be laid with great ſolemnity on a funeral pile; and gathering his aſhes into a ſilver urn, he ſent them in this honourable manner to his ſon Marcellus. *Plut. in vit. Marcell.*

(78) That the ſoul had an exiſtence prior to her connection with the body, ſeems to have been an opinion of the higheſt antiquity; as it may be traced in the Chaldean, Egyptian, and Grecian theology, as far back as there are any records remaining of their ſpeculative tenets. This general notion, however, was not maintained univer-

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ſally in the ſame preciſe ſenſe; ſome conſidering the ſoul in its former ſtate as ſubſiſting only in the great ſoul of the univerſe; whilſt others held its prior diſtinct and perſonal individuality. Thoſe philoſophers who maintained the latter opinion, at leaſt the generality of them, ſeem to have ſuppoſed that the ſoul is ſent down into this ſublunary orb, as into a place of puniſhment for trangreſſions committed in a former ſtate. And this theory claims the greater attention, not only as it appears to have been adopted both by the Pythagoric and Platonic ſchools, which undoubtedly produced the moſt reſpectable philoſophers that ever enlightened the pagan world; but as bearing ſtrong marks of being primarily derived from the Moſaical account of the *fall* of man. Indeed ſome chriſtian writers of no inconſiderable rank in the learned world, have thought the narrative of that great event as related by the ſacred hiſtorian, is to be underſtood in an allegorical ſenſe; and that under a figurative

figurative repreſentation the inſpired author means to ſet forth the pre-exiſtent ſtate of the human ſpecies. How far this interpretation is agreeable to the general *tenour* of divine revelation, is not the object of the preſent remark to inquire; but it is certain the ſacred ſcriptures ſo far at leaſt confirm the antient tradition, that they equally repreſent man as in a lapſed condition. Nor was this opinion a vain and unprofitable ſpeculation in the ſchools of the philoſophers: they applied it to the moſt important purpoſes of morality. By inculcating on their diſciples a firm perſuaſion of man's exalted origin, they endeavoured to point their ambition to its nobleſt object, and animate them in the exerciſe of thoſe virtues that would open their way to a re-admiſſion into thoſe celeſtial manſions, from which they had been baniſhed into this lower world. *Macrob. in ſomn. Scip.* i. 9. *Stanley's Hiſt. of Philoſ. p.* 553. *Brucher's inſt. Philoſ.*

198. *Diog. Laert. in vit. Pythag. & Platon.*

(79) The great uncertainty concerning the age and country in which this very celebrated philoſopher was born, has occaſioned much critical controverſy: the moſt prevailing opinion, however, ſeems to be, that he was a native of Samos, an iſland in the Archipelago; and that his birth is to be placed in ſome period between the 608th, and 568th, year before the chriſtian era.

Pythagoras, after having viſited the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſeats of learning among the eaſtern nations and reſided a conſiderable time alſo in Egypt, ſettled at Crotona; a city in that part of Italy which was then known by the name of great Greece, and which comprehends the kingdom of Naples. It was here he taught that ſyſtem of phyſiological and moral philoſophy which hath rendered his name famous through all ſucceeding generations; as moſt of the ſubſequent philoſophers

who became founders of the different ſects which ſprung up in Greece during a period of 370 years, borrowed from it many of their principal tenets. But what is ſtill more to his honour; modern philoſophy is alſo indebted to him for ſome very conſiderable articles of phyſical ſcience. This ſyſtem he compoſed partly from the diſcoveries of his own penetrating genius, and partly from thoſe theories in which he had been inſtructed by the men of ſcience with whom he had converſed in the courſe of his very extenſive travels. Among his tenets of the latter kind, the doctrine he taught concerning the ſoul of the world, may juſtly be conſidered: for it appears to have been an opinion of a much earlier date than the period in which Pythagoras flouriſhed. He maintained *Deum eſſe animum per naturam omnium rerum intentum & commeantem, ex quo noſtri animi carperentur*; that God is a mind co-expanded with and intimately pervading the material univerſe; and that the human

human ſoul is a portion of this ſoul of the world. In what manner he explained this notion, can only be collected from the writings of his diſciples: for he either compoſed none himſelf, as Plutarch affirms; or if he did, as Laertius maintains, they have long ſince periſhed in the wreck of time. Perhaps his genuine doctrine is no where more likely to be diſcovered, than in the writings of Plato; whoſe theory in this article, as in many other of its branches, was derived from Pythagoras.

Plato's notion then appears to have been, that the univerſe was actuated by an intelligent and vivifying ſpirit, which permeates through all its parts in the ſame manner as the human ſoul (which he held to be co-eſſential with the mundane ſoul) animates and informs the human body. In conſequence of this opinion he maintained alſo, that the heavenly orbs were each of them actuated by intelligences of the ſame ſubſtance with the ſoul of man,

but of a ſuperior order; and that they had a juſt claim, as being ſo many inferior divinities, to the *ſubordinate* homage of mankind.

This opinion, that the hoſt of heaven were animated by living intelligences had prevailed in the eaſtern parts of the world long before philoſophy was cultivated in Greece; and ſeems to have given riſe to *Aſtrolatry*, or the firſt ſpecies of creature-worſhip into which mankind were miſled by a falſe theology. Theſe principles, however, were not peculiarly adopted by the Pythagoric and Platonic ſchools: they were received alſo by the Stoics and ſome others of the leading ſects among the Grecians; but with this difference, that while the former carefully diſtinguiſhed the ſupra-mundane ſoul, from the ſoul of the world; the latter ſeem frequently, in terms at leaſt, to confound the divine architect with his work, and ſpeak of the *animated* univerſe as being itſelf the ſupreme deity. *Vis Deum* mundum *vocare?* ſays Seneca,

neca, *non falleris:* ipſe *enim eſt* totum *quod vides; totus operibus ſuis inditus.* A late philoſophical poet ſeems to have been led into the ſame ſyſtem; moſt certainly at leaſt he holds the *ſame language* with thoſe antient theologiſts who repreſented God and nature as making together one compound individual being:

All *are but* parts *of one ſtupendous* whole,
Whoſe body *nature is, and God the* ſoul;
That chang'd through all and yet in all the ſame,
Great in the earth as in the ethereal frame,
Warms in the ſun, refreſhes in the breeze,
Glows in the ſtars, and bloſſoms in the trees,
Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unſpent,
Breathes in our ſoul, informs our mortal part,
As full, as perfect in a hair as heart;
As full, as perfect in vile man that mourns,
As the rapt Seraph that adores and burns:
To him no high, no low, no great, no ſmall;
He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all.

Although the poet in the foregoing lines delivers in expreſs terms the preciſe doctrine of the Stoics, who maintained *Deum* animum *hujus univerſi*, corpus *ejus ipſum univerſum*; yet it would not be candid to ſuppoſe that he really believed, and meant to propagate, the ſame opinion. But perhaps it would be no breach of charity to ſuſpect, that the acknowledged "*maſter* "*of the poet and the ſong*," might have embraced that tenet. The implicit deference, therefore, which, it is well known, his friend and *pupil* paid to his ſuperior underſtanding, will account for this doctrine having gained admiſſion (imperceptibly, perhaps to the poet himſelf) into this celebrated, though, it ſhould ſeem, not very conſiſtent, ſyſtem of natural theology. *Lips. Manud.* i. 6. *Phyſiolog.* ii. 10. *Vie de Pythag. par Dac. Brucker Inſt. Philoſ.* 184. *Cudworth intellect. Syſt.* 533. *fol. ed. Eſſay on Man.* i.

(80) It is uncertain upon what occaſion this great *patriarch of philoſophy*, as a noble author emphatically ſtiles him, was diſtinguiſhed by the oracle with this honourable deſignation. Laertius ſeems to intimate, that it was conferred upon him on account of that practical wiſdom which ſo ſtrongly marked every part of his exemplary conduct, particularly in the equanimity and moderation with which he bore the ſevere trials to which his patience was frequently expoſed. But Socrates himſelf, as we learn from Cicero in another part of his writings, aſſigned a different and more probable reaſon; attributing this high encomium to his juſt diſcernment of the limits of the human mind, and confining his philoſophical reſearches to the proper objects of human underſtanding: the chief attainment whereof could riſe no higher, he ſaid, than to "know how "little can be known." It was indeed one of the principal labours of

this noble moraliſt, to ſubdue the vanity of pretended ſcience; to call down philoſophy from thoſe *ideal* flights in which ſhe had hitherto waſted her ſtrength and powers; and bring her home to her proper office, the moral improvement of human life. The truth is, the preceding ſages, Pythagoras alone perhaps excepted, had little concerned themſelves with eſtabliſhing the important principles of ethics; their ſtudies being chiefly directed to phyſiological enquiries. Accordingly, each philoſopher endeavoured to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome new theory; and "*with all the raſh dexterity of wit,*" employed his talents in conſtructing worlds, and diſcloſing the imaginary ſecret by which nature performed all her wonderful operations. Socrates conſidered theſe ſpecious reveries of miſapplied genius, as ſo many philoſophical romances: and, with great force of ridicule, expoſed them to the contempt they well deſerved. The philoſophy that he himſelf taught, was altogether

altogether of a different caſt: it turned upon a ſubject (to borrow the poet's expreſſion) *quod magis ad nos pertinet & neſcire malum eſt*; as it inveſtigated the principles of moral ſcience, and pointed out the paths that lead to preſent and future felicity. *Diog. Laert. in vit. Socrat. Cic. Acad.* i. *Tuſc. Qu.* v. 4. *Xenoph. Mem.* i. 11. *et Seqq.*

(81) Plato, in the dialogue intitled *Phædo*, repreſents Socrates on the morning of his execution as holding a converſation with his friends on the ſoul's immortality; in which, among other arguments, he endeavours to eſtabliſh the doctrine of the ſoul's future exiſtence, upon the principle of its having exiſted before its union with the body. This was attempting to ſupport the truth of the hypotheſis in queſtion, by reſting it on another altogether conjectural and precarious. But theſe two propoſitions, tho' totally diſtinct from, and unconnected with each other, were held by all the antient

philoſophers who maintained the future permanency of the ſoul, to have a mutual dependence, and neceſſarily to ſtand, or fall, together. For as they raiſed their arguments for the ſoul's immortality, chiefly on metaphyſical ground; "they clearly perceived," as the very learned Cudworth obſerves, "if it were once granted that the ſoul "was generated, it could never be "proved but it might alſo be corrupted." Reaſonings of this kind indeed, are generally more ſpecious than ſatisfactory: and, perhaps every ſenſible reader after peruſing what the moſt acute metaphyſicians have written on this important article, will find himſelf not very far from the ſame ſtate of mind as Cicero's Tuſculan diſciple was after reading Plato: *neſcio quomodo*, ſays he, *dum lego aſſentior, cum poſui librum, aſſenſio omnis illa elabitur.*

Let it not, however, be inferred from hence, that arguments from this quarter are of *no* force: they prove, as far as the nature of a ſubſtance can be proved

proved by its properties, that the ſoul is a ſimple, uncompounded eſſence, and therefore not phyſically liable to a diſſolution. But if to this conſideration be added thoſe proofs which the antient philoſophers ſeem to have overlooked, or but ſlightly touched upon; thoſe proofs, I mean, which are drawn from the divine attributes, conſidered with relation to the moral nature of man, and the circumſtances in which he is placed; the evidences of a future ſtate riſe to a degree of certainty little ſhort of the cleareſt mathematical demonſtration.

If the Sceptical Montaigne, therefore, had duely conſidered the ſtrength of thoſe concluſions which are derived from this ſource, he could not have ventured ſo confidently to aſſert, that *Qui retentera ſon eſtre & ſes forces et dedans et dehors—qui verra l'homme ſans le flatter; il n'y verra ny efficace ny faculté qui ſente autre choſe que la mort et la terre.* [Mont. i. 485.] Forlorne indeed would the ſtate of man be, if this

this were a faithful picture of his condition; if his hopes of another life were but the deluſions of ſelf-flattery, which will totally vaniſh upon a juſt ſurvey of his real circumſtances and ſituation. Happily, however, the truth is much otherwiſe: the more he inquires into his moral or intellectual nature, and examines the ſtate of things with which he is ſurrounded; the more he will be convinced that the expectations of an after-life in ſome future ſcene of exiſtence, are not leſs evidently confirmed by the dictates of ſound philoſophy, than they are *univerſally* (either by ſome general impreſſion, or common tradition) ſuggeſted to the mind previous to all reaſoning concerning the matter. Several eminent modern writers have collected and illuſtrated theſe *moral* proofs, with all the powers of genius and reaſon united; particularly the elegant Mr. Addiſon in ſome of his inimitable eſſays, and the excellent

excellent author of the *religion of nature delineated.*

(82) Thoſe guardian ſpirits which the Romans diſtinguiſhed by the name of *houſehold deities*, were a ſpecies of good demons, or tutelarly divinities, to whoſe eſpecial protection particular families were ſuppoſed to be aſſigned. Theſe *lares familiares*, as they were termed, were imagined to be the departed ſouls of virtuous men, who, as a reward of the good deeds they had performed in the preſent life, were appointed after death to the pleaſing office of ſuperintending the concerns of their reſpective deſcendants. This is the account that Apuleius gives of theſe friendly beings: and to theſe, probably, Xenophon in the preſent paſſage alludes. It is certain at leaſt, that the agency of departed ſpirits in the affairs of this ſublunary world, was a doctrine maintained by many of the moſt conſiderable philoſophers of antient Greece:

and

and it was ſo early received into their ſyſtems of natural theology, that Plutarch in his treatiſe *de defect. oracul.* is at a loſs to determine when, and by whom, it was introduced. But the fact ſeems to be, that its true origin can only be traced in the ſacred records; where we find the miniſtry of intermediate beings frequently employed in executing the decrees of providence with reſpect to man. Thales, Pythagoras, and ſome others of the Grecian ſages maintained, that the region of the air was inhabited by beings of this order; and Milton hath repreſented Adam in the ſtate of innocence, as inſtructing Eve in the ſame doctrine, in thoſe beautiful lines;

——Nor think tho' men were none,
That heaven would want ſpectators, God want praiſe.
Millions of ſpiritual beings walk the earth
Unſeen, both when we wake and when we ſleep:
All theſe with ceaſeleſs praiſe his works behold
Both day and night. How often from the ſteep
Of echoing hill or thicket, have we heard
Celeſtial

Celeſtial voices to the midnight air
(Sole, or reſponſive to each other's note)
Singing their great Creator? oft in bands
While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk,
With heavenly touch of inſtrumental ſounds,
In full harmonic number join'd, their ſongs
Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to heaven.

Lipſ. Phyſiol. Stoic. i. 13. Parad. loſt, iv. 675. et Seqq.

(83) "The phænomenon of ſleep "and dreaming, which hath been made "uſe of to exalt the nature of matter, "and depreſs the perfection of the "ſoul, rightly conſidered ſhew the "very contrary.—The oppoſition of "appearances obſervable in this ſtate "(of *fatigue*, and *activity*, of *inſenſi-* "*bility* and *life* at the ſame time) can- "not fail to ſhew us the oppoſite na- "tures of the two conſtituent parts of "our compoſition. If all had been a "*blank* of thought and conſciouſneſs "in ſleep, the *ſoul* would have ſeemed "to be of the ſame nature with the "body: if there had been no *difference*

"of

" of thought and conſciouſneſs *then* " and at other times, the *body* would " have appeared to be of the ſame " nature with the ſoul; nor could the " *thinking* principle have been ſo diſ- " tinguiſhable.—Who that is rational " would chooſe to be without theſe " informations of an after-exiſtence? " —The body no ſooner ſinks down in " wearineſs and ſlumber, than this " thing within, enters freſh upon other " ſcenes of action:—and this without " the ſubſerviency of its organs, which " are then diſabled from its functions. " From which it appears it can be " otherwiſe applied to than by exter- " nal objects through the ſenſes. Now " here is ſuch a *contrariety* of natures " obviouſly diſcoverable, that it is a " wonder men could ever find in their " hearts to aſcribe them to the ſame " thing." *Baxter's enquiry into nat. of the ſoul. p.* 194—270, 4*to. ed.*

(84) The deſire of looking into futurity, is ſo natural to the mind of man; that

that pretenſions to the means of gratifying this innate curioſity, have never been wanting in any age, or in any country. That theſe pretenſions ſhould find faith in vulgar minds, is by no means a matter of wonder: but it is ſomewhat ſurpriſing that thoſe men among the antients who were once held, and in many reſpects juſtly held, the great maſters of reaſon, ſeem equally to have been infected with the ſame ſuperſtition: at leaſt there is not more than one or two of the Greek philoſophers, who appear to have rejected divination, in all its various modes, as an abſolute fallacy. The very weak arguments by which the truth of divination was thus generally admitted as an article in the philoſopher's creed, is a remarkable inſtance how eaſily the human mind perſuades itſelf into an opinion which favours its natural bias and propenſities. For the principles by which they endeavoured to ſupport this opinion, were founded on aſſumptions either evidently falſe,

or

or which were incapable of being proved true. Thus they laid it down as an unqueſtionable poſition, *ſi dii divinatio*; preſuming that the knowledge of future events would be an eſſential advantage to mankind, and, therefore, that the Gods, who were no leſs beneficent than powerful, had certainly furniſhed means of acquiring a premonition ſo neceſſary to the welfare of the human race. This was the ground upon which the Stoics, at leaſt, reſted the credibility of divination in general: and as to that particular mode of it which was ſuppoſed to be conveyed in dreams; it was raiſed upon a baſis equally weak and precarious. For taking it as granted that the intellectual principle in man is emanation from the great ſoul which animates the univerſe, or in other words, a portion of the divine eſſence; they proceeded upon a ſecond hypotheſis no leſs arbitrarily aſſumed, and imagined that the ſoul during ſleep being in ſome degree diſengaged from her intercourſe with

the

the body; recovered in the ſame proportion the power of exerting thoſe properties *eſſential* to her divine nature. Reaſonings of this kind, together with that wonderful correſpondence which has ſometimes happened, in almoſt every man's experience, between the viſions of the night and ſubſequent occurrencies; ſeem to have procured an earlier and more general belief in the certainty of divination by dreams, than by any other ſuppoſed intimations of futurity.

The wiſe and learned Pythagoras was no leſs tainted than the reſt of the antient philoſophers, with this kind of ſuperſtition; but he gave credit to it upon a different principle: for his opinion was, that dreams are ſuggeſted, not by the natural powers of the mind, but by thoſe aerial beings, of which ſome account has been given in the preceding remark.

A late very acute philoſopher, preſſed by the inſuperable objections to the ſeveral cauſes uſually aſſigned of that amazing

amazing ſcenery which is preſented to the mind when the outward ſenſes are locked up in ſleep, has adopted the ſame hypotheſis. For ſince theſe appearances cannot be explained (as he proves in a very ſatisfactory manner) by any of the known properties of matter or by the laws of mechaniſm, and that it would be abſurd to ſuppoſe, for many cogent reaſons which he ſpecifies, that the ſoul herſelf raiſes up thoſe wonderful viſions; he reſorts to the agency of intermediate beings, as the only rational ſolution that can be produced of the effect in queſtion. But although this ingenious author has ſufficiently overthrown the former theories that have been advanced on this ſubject; he has by no means been equally ſucceſsful in eſtabliſhing his own: as indeed in the unſubſtantial regions of metaphyſical ſpeculation, it is generally much eaſier to pull down the erections already raiſed, than to build up any thing more ſolid in their place. The truth is, an unſurmountable

ble objection ſeems to lie againſt this author's hypotheſis. For ſurely it is inconſiſtent with all our notions concerning the goodneſs of the ſupreme governor of the univerſe, to ſuppoſe that he delivers up the ſoul of man defenceleſs and unguarded, every time he cloſes his eyes in ſleep, into the poſſeſſion of certain inviſible beings, good and bad, to be treated at their mercy and diſcretion. But if it be abſolutely neceſſary, in order to account for the phænomenon of dreams, to introduce an immaterial agent; recourſe might be had, perhaps, to the antient doctrine concerning plaſtic natures, as revived in the laſt century by Dr. Cudworth: and an adroit artificer of hypotheſes, might poſſibly apply that principle to the ſolution ſought for, with equal plauſibility, and not altogether ſo large a demand upon credulity as the aſſenting to Mr. Baxter's ſyſtem requires. In the mean time, plain good ſenſe, unadulterated with metaphyſical ſubtleties, will probably think that in

queſtions

queſtions concerning *cauſes* which lie too remote for human penetration. He adviſed well who ſaid, *Tacere præſtat Philoſophis, quam loqui.* Diog. Laert. in vit. Pythag. Cic. de Divin. paſſim. Baxter's enquiry into the nature of the ſoul. p. 169. et Seqq.

(85) Cato's patriotiſm was no pliant principle, which commodiouſly adapted, or oppoſed itſelf, to every ſtate-ſyſtem, or party-meaſure, as intereſt, and ambition directed: it was a ſteady, equal, vigorous ſpring of action operating with invariable ſtrength and power, in every occurrence wherein the welfare of his country was concerned. This firm and inflexible ſpirit of public virtue, neceſſarily involved him in perpetual conteſts. For as he endeavoured upon all occaſions to reſtrain the undue influence of the Ariſtocratical faction in Rome; ſo the nobles, in their turn, looking upon him as the moſt formidable enemy of their riſing power, never ceaſed their attempts to

blaſt his well-earned credit with the people. To this end they watched his public conduct with a jealous eye, and ſeized every the leaſt colourable pretence of arraigning it in legal form. But his unſpotted integrity ſhone the brighter, the more his enemies laboured to ſully its luſtre: for altho' in the courſe of his long life, he was called forth by no leſs than fifty different impeachments, to juſtify his political conduct; yet the reputation of his patriotic virtue was ſo far from being diminiſhed by theſe ſevere inquiſitions, that it continued to riſe in the public eſteem to the end of his honourable days. *Liv.* xxxix. 41. *Corn. Nep. in vit. & Plut. in vit. Caton.*

(86) It ſeems to have ſtrongly entered into the expectations of thoſe eminent ſages of antiquity who embraced the doctrine of the ſoul's immortality, that the felicity of the next life will partly ariſe, not only from a renewal of thoſe virtuous connections which

which have been formed in the *preſent*, but from converſing at large with that whole glorious aſſembly whom the poet hath ſo juſtly brought together in his deſcription of the manſions of the bleſt; the

——*Manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera paſſi;*
Quique ſacerdotes caſti, dum vitâ manebat;
Quique pii vates, & Phœbo digna locuti;
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique ſui memores alios fecere merendo.

Virg.

Patriots who periſh'd for their country's right,
Or nobly triumph'd in the field of fight:
There, holy prieſts, and ſacred poets ſtood,
Who ſung with all the raptures of a God:
Worthies, who life by uſeful arts refind,
With thoſe, who leave a deathleſs name behind,
Friends of the world, and fathers of mankind.

Pit's tranſ.

Thus Socrates, in the diſcourſe which his celebrated diſciple repreſents him as making to the judges before whom he was arraigned, expreſſes the higheſt ſatisfaction

ſatisfaction in the thought that the unjuſt ſentence they were going to pronounce, would open his way to thoſe happy manſions where he ſhould join the company of Orpheus and Muſæus, of Homer and Heſiod, together with the reſt of thoſe departed ſpirits who had benefited mankind by their talents and their virtues.

(87) If there were not different traditions concerning Pelias, Cicero ſeems to have committed a miſtake of memory in this paſſage; for as Ovid relates the adventure, it was Æſon and not Pelias, whoſe youth was reſtored by Medea's enchanted cauldron. As to Pelias, the enchantreſs threw him indeed into her kettle; but with far other intentions. The ſtory as told by Diodorus Siculus, is this: Pelias was king of Theſſaly, who having conceived a jealouſy of his brother, the father of Jaſon, contrived while his nephew was abſent on the Argonautic expedition, to have the father and all his family

aſſaſſinated. Jaſon, at his return, formed a ſcheme for revenging himſelf of his uncle's cruelty. To this end, he employed Medea to exerciſe her arts of enchantment, in order to perſuade the old king that ſhe was commiſſioned by the Gods to reſtore his youth. The ſtratagem ſucceeded: and Pelias commanded his daughters to perform the neceſſary preparations on his body, agreeably to the directions they ſhould receive for that purpoſe from Medea. In conſequence of theſe injunctions, and in purſuance of Medea's orders, the unhappy princeſſes were made the inſtruments of their father's death, by cutting his body in pieces and throwing his limbs into her pretended renovating cauldron. *Ovid. Met.* vii. *Diod. Sic.* v. 3.

(88) Philoſophy can never be employed in an office more unſuitable to her proper character and functions, than in ſetting forth ſuch repreſentations of human life as tend to put mankind

kind out of humour with their preſent being: and yet into this unworthy ſervice ſome eminent moraliſts, both antient and modern, have not ſcrupled to compel her! The genuine effects of true wiſdom and knowledge, are altogether of a different complexion; as thoſe ſpeculative writers whoſe ſtudies and talents have qualified them for taking the moſt accurate and comprehenſive ſurvey of the natural and moral world, have found the reſult of their inquiries terminate in the ſtrongeſt motives for a grateful acquieſcence in the beneficent adminiſtration of providence. To be able indeed to clear up all the difficulties which occur in attempting to account for that degree of evil which the Supreme Creator has permitted to enter among his works; will in vain, perhaps, be expected 'till the mental ſight ſhall be purged with that heavenly "*euphraſy*," with which the angel in Milton removed the film from Adam's eyes when he ſhewed him in viſion the fate of his deſcendants.

In the mean time, however, there is abundant evidence to juſtify the goodneſs of the Creator in his "*ways to* "*men*," and diſſipate every darker cloud which, in a gloomy ſtate of mind, is apt to overcaſt the proſpect of human condition.

The truth is, the *natural* evils of life are but few and inconſiderable when compared with thoſe which are of man's own production. Pain and diſeaſe, which now make ſuch a variety of dreadful articles in every eſtimate of human calamities, would ſcarcely appear to exiſt, if the contributions of vice and luxury were fairly ſubſtracted from the account. And when all deductions of this kind are juſtly made, if we examine the remaining evils to which mankind are *neceſſarily* expoſed; it will appear that providence hath kindly interwoven certain ſecret conſolations and unexpected ſoftenings, which render them more tolerable when realiſed than they ſeem in apprehenſion. Nothing indeed is more certain

certain than what an incomparable moraliſt, with his uſual truth of ſentiment and elegance of imagination, hath finely remarked; that "the "evils of this life appear like rocks "and precipices, rugged and barren "at a diſtance; but at our nearer ap-"proach we find little fruitful ſpots "and refreſhing ſprings mixed with "the harſhneſs and deformity of "nature."

To apply this general obſervation to a particular inſtance: Thoſe who from the more commodious ſtations of human life, look down upon the loweſt and moſt laborious claſſes of mankind, are apt to conſider their condition as painful proofs of the miſeries to which the majority of the ſons of men are inevitably condemned. But in fact, theſe ſuppoſed objects of commiſeration, are ſo far from being in a ſtate deſervedly to be lamented, that perhaps they would be very conſiderable loſers if they were to exchange it for a more exalted ſphere of action. That this is

no ideal repreſentation of their caſe; let an unexceptionable witneſs, who had occaſion to obſerve it in ſome of its ſtrongeſt exhibitions, atteſt. "In "my travels," ſays the good biſhop Pontoppidan, "over the higheſt moun- "tains of Norway, which are covered "with ſnow, and where horſes are of "no ſervice, I have ſeen peaſants in "great numbers do the work of "horſes; and indeed they ſeem "equal to thoſe animals in ſtrength. "—They go on ſinging all the while, "and hold out for nine hours together "at the hardeſt labour imaginable, "with incredible chearfulneſs and ala- "crity." He adds; the peaſants of "both ſexes aſſemble together by "hundreds, I might ſay thouſands, "about the middle of January, to "make their winter harveſt of the "rich produce of the ocean. They "keep out at ſea all the day, and a "great part of the night by moon- "light, in open boats; and after that, "crowd together by ſcores into little "huts,

" huts, where they can hardly have
" room to lay themſelves down, in
" their wet cloaths. The next morn-
" ing they return to the ſame labori-
" ous employments, with as much
" pleaſure and chearfulneſs as if they
" were going to a merry-making."

In contemplating the moral ſtate of mankind, the horror of the view, in like manner, will be much alleviated by taking in every mitigating circumſtance that attends the proſpect. There is reaſon to think, with the moſt judicious writers on this intereſting queſtion, that there are few individuals who in the courſe of their lives have not been the authors of more good than evil. Prejudice, reſentment, or oppoſition of intereſt may, and often do, produce particular inſtances of the ſad effects of the malevolent and ſelfiſh paſſions, in the very ſame man who, in the general tenour of his conduct and connections, regularly exerciſes the kind and ſocial affections. But in determining concerning the comparative

prevalency of moral good and evil; a haſty or peeviſh remarker, while he examines the weight of the malignant action, is not equally careful to inquire into the ſtate of the oppoſite ſcale. There are many latent circumſtances alſo neceſſary to be known, before we are fully qualified to give any particular action its preciſe and diſtinguiſhing denomination. The motive and intention of the agent; the point of view in which the action appeared to his own eye; the degree of ſurprize or premeditation, of knowledge or ignorance, with which it was committed; are nice diſcriminations which an uncandid obſerver always overlooks, and a charitable one cannot often diſcern: yet theſe conſtitute the true nature and eſſential characteriſtic of moral conduct.

There is another circumſtance which may very much contribute to lead the judgment into unfavourable concluſions upon this ſubject: vicious actions ſtrike more forcibly upon the mind, as being

being in their nature more open to public notoriety, than thoſe of an oppoſite quality. Atrocious deviations from moral rectitude rarely paſs undiſcovered; whereas many of the nobleſt and moſt laudable inſtances of human merit, are frequently known only to the parties immediately concerned, and not ſeldom lie concealed in the breaſt of the worthy agent. Vice obtrudes itſelf upon the public eye; but virtue muſt often be ſought for in leſs conſpicuous ſcenes. The *ſecretum iter*, and the *fallentis ſemita vitæ*, are the paths in which her votaries are moſt frequently to be found. No wonder therefore, if in computing their comparative number, very erroneous calculations are apt to be made.

When all reflections of this kind, together with others which might be mentioned of the ſame tendency, are duly conſidered and their full force admitted; it will not, perhaps, be thought an unwarrantable inference, that there is an over-balance of *good* in

the moral, as well as in the natural world. *Spect. No.* 615. *King's origin of evil by Law, p.* 420, *et Seqq. Hutcheſon on the paſſions, p.* 177, *et Seqq.*

(89) Little more is known concerning Cato's ſon than what has already been mentioned in note 69; that part of Livy in which ſome particulars of his life were probably related, being loſt: and Plutarch only mentions him incidentally. It appears by the latter, that he diſtinguiſhed his courage in a manner greatly to the ſatisfaction of his father, and to the glory of his own reputation, in the war under Paulus Æmilius againſt Perſes king of Macedon. *Liv. Epit.* xlviii. *Plut. in vit. Caton.*

(90) The indeterminate manner in which Cicero, in ſome of his dialogues, diſcuſſes the queſtion concerning the ſoul's immortality, together with certain ambiguous expreſſions which he drops

drops in other parts of his writings, have given occaſion to ſuſpect the firmneſs of his faith in this important article. A ſuſpicion of the ſame kind, and for the ſame reaſon, ſeems to have ariſen in Cicero's time, with regard to the real opinion which Socrates held on this great point: and the obſervation the Roman philoſopher makes in order to reſcue his admired ſage from this unjuſt ſurmiſe, is no leſs applicable to himſelf. Socrates in the defence he made on his trial, expreſſes the ſtrongeſt perſuaſion that the death he was going to ſuffer, would be a change of the greateſt advantage to him in another ſtate of exiſtence; yet, after all, and in the concluſion of the ſame ſpeech, he declares himſelf altogether uncertain of the conſequence which would follow that event. Upon this occaſion Cicero remarks, that the ſentiments of Socrates concerning the immortality of the ſoul, were by no means wavering and undetermined; but that he cloſes his ſpeech in this indeciſive manner,

in

in order to perſevere to the laſt in that diſtinguiſhing principle of his philoſophy, "never to dogmatize upon any "ſubject."[a] The ſame mode of philoſophiſing, as it was equally adopted by Cicero, will equally ſerve to reconcile the ſeeming fluctuations of his opinion, with his entertaining at the ſame time a firm expectation of an after-life in ſome better ſtate. And this obſervation will appear the more applicable to the preſent caſe, by conſidering the *manner* in which he delivers himſelf upon thoſe controverted queſtions of another nature, concerning which it would be abſurd to imagine that his notions were unſettled. Thus in the treatiſe addreſſed to Brutus, wherein he explains his ideas of the moſt perfect ſpecies of oratory, and agreeably to which it may well be ſuppoſed he endeavoured to form his own,

[a] *Quod præter Deos negat ſcire quemquam, id ſcit ipſe, utrum melius ſit; nam dixit antè: ſed ſuum illud* nihil ut affirmet, *tenet* ad extremum. *Tuſ.* i. 41.

own, he ſtill preſerves the *diſtinguiſhing* ſpirit of his ſect; and he concludes that elegant performance with as much doubt and heſitation, as if he had really been at a loſs where to fix his judgment in relation to the true principles of an art he had ſo thoroughly ſtudied, and in which he ſo eminently excelled.[b]

This might ſuffice for a general anſwer: but the queſtion is of ſome importance, and deſerves a more particular examination. For this purpoſe, it will be neceſſary to remove a prejudice which may be conceived againſt that ſect whoſe principles, it is well known, Cicero embraced; as if the doctrine of the Academics directly tended to univerſal Scepticiſm. The truth, however,

[b] *Habes meum de oratore, Brute, judicium: quod aut ſequere, ſi probaveris; aut tuo ſtabis, ſi aliud quoddam eſt tuum. In quo neque pugnabo tecum, neque hoc meum,* de quo tantopere hoc libro aſſeveravi, *unquam affirmabo eſſe* verius *quàm tuum. Poteſt enim non ſolum aliud mihi ac tibi, ſed mihi* aliud aliàs *videri.* Orator. 71.

ever, is much otherwiſe; as the ſingle difference in this reſpect between the Academics and the other ſects was, that the latter uſurped the ſtyle of *demonſtration*, while the *former* with much more modeſty as well as reaſon, laid claim only to moral certainty.[c] The Academic mode of philoſophiſing was indeed, of all others, the moſt favourable to the intereſts of truth and the advancement of real ſcience: for by guarding the mind from a previous bias towards any aſſumed principles, or an unwarrantable adherence to ſyſtems taken up at an early period of life, and before the judgment was capable of diſtinguiſhing between argument and authority; the inquirer came prepared to diſcuſs without prejudice, or predilection, the ſtrength, or weakneſs, of the ſeveral reaſons which were urged

[c] *Neque inter nos et eos qui ſe* ſcire *arbritrantur, quidquam intereſt, niſi quod illi non dubitant quin ea vera ſint quæ defendant, nos* probabilia *multa habemus quæ* ſequi *facile*, affirmare *vix poſſumus.* Acad. iv. 2.

urged on each ſide of any queſtion in debate.[d] But altho' theſe cautious philoſophers were ſlow in adopting ſyſtems, and always more diſpoſed to *examine* than to *decide*; their opinions were by no means forever in a ſtate of ſuſpence, and perpetually hovering between oppoſite hypotheſes: they diſputed, it is true, on every ſide, but they regulated their conduct only by the principles of *one*.[e]

If

[d] *Hoc autem liberiores & ſolutiores ſumus, quod integra nobis eſt judicandi poteſtas; nec ut omnia quæ præſcripta & qua ſi imperata ſint, defendamus. Nam cæteris primùm ante tenentur adſtricti, quàm quid eſſet optimum judicare potuerunt; deinde infirmiſſimo tempore ætatis aut obſecuti amico cuidam, aut una alicujus, quem primùm audierunt, oratione captide rebus incognitis judicant; & ad quamcumque ſunt diſciplinam quaſi tempeſtate delati, ad eam tamquam ad ſaxum adhæreſcunt.* Acad. iv. 2.

[e] *Neque Academici cum in* utramque *diſerunt partem, non ſecundum* alteram *vivunt.* Quint. xii. 1.

If in ſeveral, therefore, of Cicero's philoſophical pieces, his own notions on the ſubject are not eaſily diſcernable; he keeps them out of ſight, not becauſe he was himſelf undetermined, or had any private reaſons for concealing his ſentiments, but becauſe he thought it the faireſt method to leave the reſpective arguments of the diſputants to make their own proper impreſſions, without adding his particular authority as an adventitious weight to ſway the judgment of the reader.[f]

But to ſtate this matter fairly, it muſt be acknowledged that there are two or three paſſages in Cicero's private letters, which at the firſt glance, may ſeem to countenance that ſuſpicion concerning

[f] *Qui autem requirunt, quid quaque de re ipſi ſentiamus, curioſius id faciunt quam neceſſe eſt: non enim tam auctoritatis in diſputando, quàm rationis momenta quærenda ſunt. Quin etiam obeſt plerumque iis qui diſcere volunt, auctoritas eorum qui ſe docere profitentur: deſinunt enim ſuum judicium adhibere; id habent ratum quod ab eo quem probant, judicatum vident.* De Nat. Deor. i. 5.

concerning his faith, which it is the endeavour of the preſent reflections to remove. But upon a nearer and more accurate inſpection of theſe ſuppoſed unfavourable declarations, it will appear, in the firſt place, that without any violence of conſtruction they may be interpreted as meaning nothing more than that "death is an utter ex-"tinction of all ſenſibility with reſpect "to human affairs:" and in the next place, admitting that theſe paſſages are ſo many clear and poſitive aſſertions, that "the ſoul does not ſurvive the "body;" yet it would by no means follow that this was Cicero's *real* perſuaſion. For it has been proved, in ſeveral inſtances produced for that purpoſe, that it was uſual with him in his private letters to vary his ſentiments in accommodation to the particular principles, or circumſtances, of the correſpondent to whom he was writing.

But if Cicero's true opinion in reſpect to the intereſting queſtion under conſideration, is neither to be traced with

with certainty in his philoſophical dialogues, nor to be diſcovered in his private coreſpondence with his friends; where then, it may be aſked, can we hope to find it?

It ſhould ſeem that an unprejudiced reader, who attentively peruſed the foregoing treatiſe, can be at no loſs for an anſwer to this queſtion. It is true, Cicero ſpeaks throughout that piece in an aſſumed character; but leſt it ſhould be doubted, whether he held the ſame opinions which he repreſents Cato to have entertained; he expreſsly aſſures Atticus, in the introductory addreſs to him, that he had found ſo much ſatisfaction in drawing up the reflections he was going to lay before him, as had rendered his declining age not only an eaſy, but an agreeable ſtate to him: and that he had fully delivered his *own* ſentiments, in thoſe which he had put into the mouth of his venerable countryman.[g]

This

[g] *Mihi quidem ita jucunda hujus libri confectio fuit, ut non modo omnes abſterſerit ſenec-*

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This eſſay, therefore, written but a few years before his death, and almoſt the very laſt act he exerted in his philoſophical character, may be conſidered as an explicit and unambiguous profeſſion of his belief of the ſoul's *ſeparate* exiſtence in a future ſtate. And if after ſo poſitive a declaration of his being convinced of the truth of this important doctrine, the ſincerity of his faith might nevertheleſs be called in queſtion; hard indeed would he have found the taſk, to give his inquiſitors ſatisfaction.

tutis moleſtias ſed effeccrit mollem etiam & jucundam ſenectutem.—Sed quid opus eſt plura? jam enim ipſius catonis ſermo *explicabit* noſtram omnem de *ſenectute* ſententiam. In pref.

THE END.

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